PROPOSITIONS
FOR PEACE,

PROPOUNDED

By the Kings most Excellent MAJESTIE, to the High Court of *Parliament*.

Together,

With His Majesties Royall *Protestation*, concerning the cleering of all Doubts of His raising Armes against the *Parliament*.

Also the Kings Majesties Letter to the Lord *Willoughby* at *Lincoln*, concerning the Militia, and Mustering of the Trained Bands of that County.

Likewise the Lord *Willoughbies* Information concerning the said Message to the House of PARLIAMENT.

As also an Order to send for the Maior, for proclaiming the Kings Proclaimation.

Also the Votes of both Houses of Parliament, Concerning the said Message.

Ordered that this be Printed and published.
Hen. Elsing. Cler. Parl.

June 28. *Printed for* William Arding, 1642.

HIs Majesty taking into his Royall Consideration, the great danger that Civill Discord, was graciously pleased to propound these severall matters to the High Court of *Parliament*, adding withall His *Protestation*, that those things performed, He would be ready to concurre with them, in oughr that should by them be thought necessary for him to grant.

1. *That they would rest satisfied with the truth of his professions and intentions.*

2. *That they declare against all Tumults, and punish the Authors.*

3. *That they allow him his Prosperity in his Towns, or Arms and Goods.*

4. *That they recall those Declarations (particularly that of the 16. of May) and those in the Point of the Militia.*

5. *That they Decline the beginning of a war against him, under pretence of His making one against them.*

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

That then His Majesty need opposed the first part of the 13. *Demand*, so [illegible] be ready to concur with them in the latter.

THE

HIS
MAIESTIES
MESSAGE

To the Lord Willoughby, to Lincoln, concerning the Militia.

THe House of *Parliament* out of their due consideration, and prosperity both of the King & Kingdome, did elect and choose the Lord *Willoughby*, as a man fit and deserving to have the trust and charge of the *Militia* of *Lincoln* shire committed unto him, who according to the trust reposed in him, with his endeavour to give satisfaction for their good opinion of him; in that they thought him weary of so great a trust, with the consent of the House went down to *Lincoln*, and did undertake and put in Execution, what the House had Ordered.

My Lord *Willoughby* was not deterred from his truſt by many Meſſages ſent from his Majeſty, neither by his Proclamation lately publiſhed to this intent. That no Train-bands ſhould be muſtred or Trained without his ſpenall Order from his Majeſty, although they had expreſſe Command from the Houſe of *Parliament* to that purpoſe.

Upon the 24. of *June* his Majeſty underſtanding the Lord *Willoughby* notwithſtanding all his former prohibitions; did contrary to his Will and Command perſiſt in his Muſtering of the train Band of *Lincoln* ſhire, ſent down a new Meſſage unto him to the ſame effect, commanding him to deſiſt from the Muſtring of the Train Bands, as hee would anſwer the contrary, when a fit occaſion ſhould ſerve at his uttermoſt perill.

And withall did ſignifie unto him, that the Lord Keeper had never Conſented to the Ordinances, as he pretended in his Anſwer to his former Letters.

My

My Lord *Willoughby* having received this Letter, and in it the Meſſage, thought it fit to addreſſe himſelfe unto that power, who had enabled him, and without all queſtion hee believed would encourage and defend his ſervice.

Whereupon hee ſent Letters to the Houſe, enforming them, that notwithſtanding the King had again prohibited him from going on with muſtring the Train band.

Yet he did not deſiſt, but did execute the Charge and Truſt committed to them by him.

Enforming them alſo, that there was a Captain came from His Majeſty from *Yorke*, who by falſe ſuppoſitions and alluding promiſes to the utmoſt of his power, did ſtrive and endeavour to aliene the hearts and fidelity of that County, from their repoſed truſt in the Houſe of Parliament, and further told that Country, That he wondred that the Lord *Willoughby* had ſo blinded their Eyes, that they could not ſee their owne

benefit, and withall did assure them that the King himselfe would shortly come to *Lincoln*, and muster up the Trayned Bands.

The House having received these Letters from the Lord *Willoughby*, fell the same day into a Conference, being moved with the Necessity of these Times, and the weight of the businesse.

And so upon consideration of the said Letters, the Lords Ordered, *That certaine Votes agreed upon in the Lords House, Concerning the Militia, at which the Lord Keeper was present, and gave his Vote for them, should be forthwith put in Print, and published throughout the Kingdome.*

Also, at the same time Information was made, *That the Lord Keeper in the House of Peers, named his Deputy Lieutenants for every County, and sent them downe to the House of Commons for their Approbation, And also agreed to the severall forms of the Deputations for the Militia.*

These

These Distractions and Differences God of his mercy, and when it shall seeme most convenient to his Divine Providence amend. That the King and His Subjects being united in a most separable Union, this Land may enjoy a continuall peace, the Gospell flourish to the Glory of Almighty God, and the Comfort of this Nation, his Majesty may enjoy a prosperous and a peaceable reign, His Subjects flourish in peace of Conscience, and peace of Estate; So shall this whole Land be everlastingly happy, unto which O God say, *Amen.*

I.

The violent and frequent Breaches of the Priviledges of Parliament, the often attempt against the same, and malitious Designs, to frustrate the Counsels and Proceedings of Parliament.

II.

The want of a due Reformation of Church-Government and Liturgie now used, the want of a Preaching Ministry, and competent maintenance for them in many parts of this Kingdome.

Both

Both Houſes of Parliament hath took into their ſerious conſideration the Occaſion and Reaſon why the Members of the ſaid Houſes ſhould abſent themſelves upon their ſummoning in, Wherupon they hath drawn up a Charge againſt them, and are reſolv'd that they ſhall pay 100.l. a man, and to be examined by the Committee before the next ſitting.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that this be printed and publiſhed.

John Brown Cler. Parl.

Heh. Elſing Cler. Parl. D. Com.

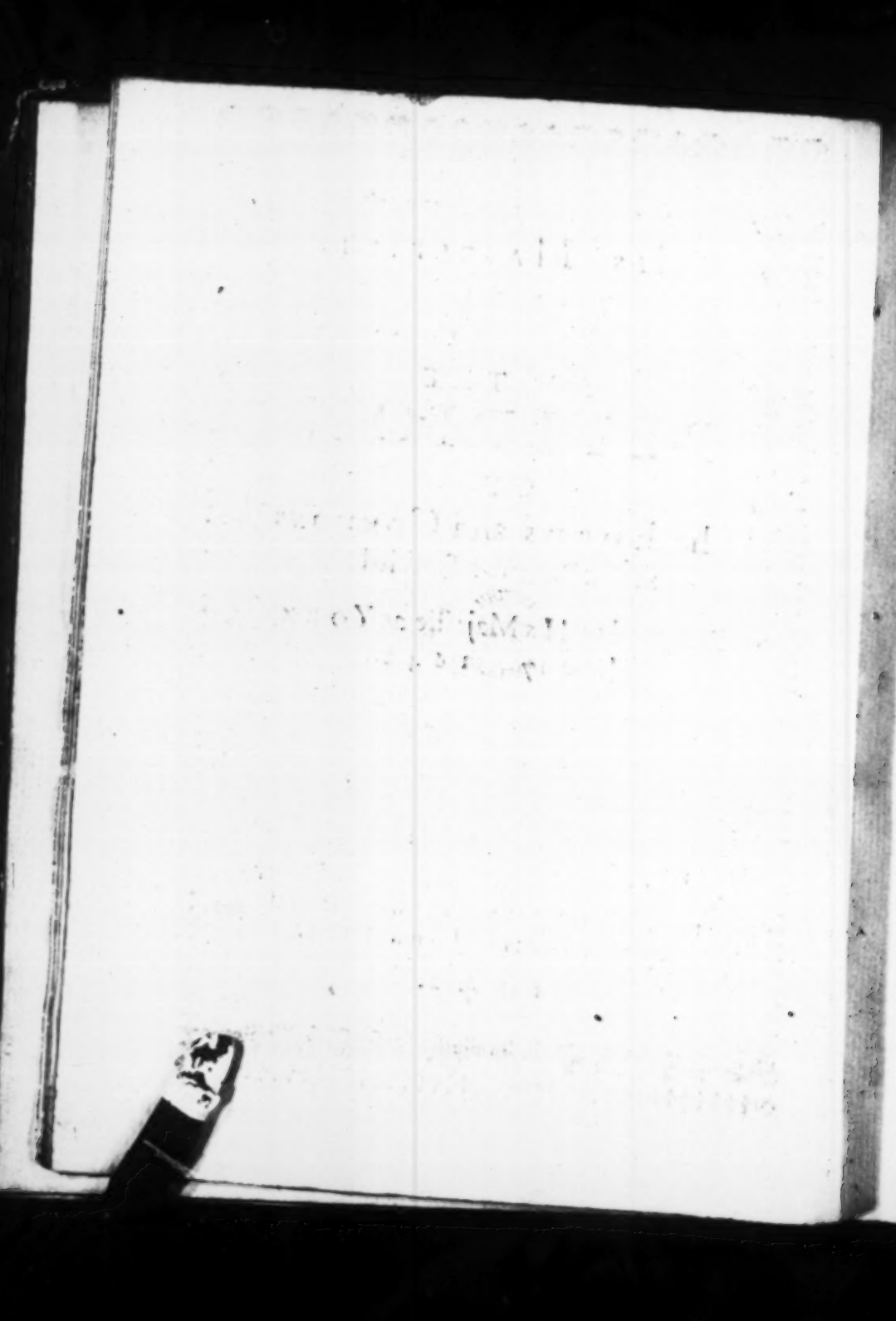
His Majesties
ANSWER
TO THE
PETITION
OF
The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled:

Presented to His Majestie at York, June 17. 1642.

LONDON:

Printed by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie: And by the Assignes of John Bill.

1642.



To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie

The humble Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

YOur Majeſties moſt humble and faithfull Subjects, the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, have lately received a Petition from a great number of the Gentry, Freeholders and other inhabitants of the County of *York*, aſſembled there by Your Majeſties Command the third of June, wherein they declare unto us, *That having taken a reſolution to addreſſe themſelves unto Your Majeſtie in the humble way of a Petition, for the redreſſe of thoſe Grievances which they now lie under, they were violently interrupted and affronted therein by the Earle of* Lyndſey, *the Lord* Savill *and others, and notwithſtanding all the means they could uſe to preſent their juſt deſires to Your Majeſtie, yet they could not prevail with Your Majeſtie to accept of their Petition*; The Copie whereof they have ſent to us, with an humble Deſire, *That we would take ſuch courſe therein as may tend to the Preſervation of their Liberties, and the Peace of the Kingdom*; *And that we would addreſſe our ſelves to Your Majeſtie in their behalf, that by our means their deſires may finde better acceptation with Your Majeſtie*; Whereupon, having ſeriouſly weighed, and conſidered the particulars of thoſe their Complaints and Deſires, as they are laid down in their Petition; And finding that the Grievances they complain of are the increaſe of the Miſeries formerly ſuſtained by that Countie (which hath well-nigh for three yeers laſt paſt been the Tragicall Stage of Armies and War) by reaſon of Your Majeſties diſtance in Reſidence, and difference in Counſels from your great Councell, the Parliament, begetting great diſtempers and diſtractions thorowout the

Kingdom, and especially in that Countie; The drawing to those Parts great numbers of discontented Persons, that may too justly be feared do affect the publike Ruine for their private advantage; The drawing together of many Companies of the Trained Bands, and others both Horse and Foot of that Countie, and retaining multitudes of Commanders and Cavaliers from other parts; The daily resort of Recusants to Your Majesties Court at *York*; The great preparations of Armes and other warlike Provisions, to the great terrour and amazement of Your Majesties peaceable Subjects, and causing a great decay of Trade and Commerce amongst them. All and every of which particulars are against the Law, which Your Majestie hath made so many and so frequent Professions to uphold and maintain. And the Lords and Commons finding on the other side their humble desires to be, That Your Majestie would hearken to Your Parliament, and declining all other Counsells whatsoever, unite your Confidence to Your Parliament, and that Your Majestie would not divide Your Subjects joynt dutie to Your Majestie, the Parliament and Kingdom, nor destroy the Essence of Your great Councell and highest Court, by subjecting the Determinations and Counsells thereof to the Counsells and Opinions of any private persons whatsoever; That Your Majestie having passed an Act, That this Parliament shall not be dissolved, but by Act of Parliament, Your Majesty would not do any thing tending thereunto, by commanding away the Lords and great Officers, whose attendance is necessary thereunto; That Your Majestie having expressed Your confidence in the affections of that Countie, You would please to dismisse Your extraordinary Guards, and the Cavaliers and others of that qualitie, who seem to have little Interest or Affection to the publike good, their language and behaviour speaking nothing but Division and War, and their advantage consisting in that which is most destructive to others. And

lastly

Laſtly, that in ſuch Conſultations and Propoſitions as Your Majeſtie maketh to that Countie, ſuch may not be thruſt upon them as men of that Countie, that neither by their fortune or reſidence are any part of it.

All which their humble and moſt juſt deſires being according to Law, which Your Majeſtie hath ſo often declared ſhould be the Meaſure and Rule of Your Government and Actions; And we Your Majeſties moſt faithfull Subjects the Lords and Commons fully concurring with the Gentlemen and others of the Countie of *York* in their Aſſurance that thoſe deſires of theirs will abundantly redound to the glory of God, the honour and ſafety of Your Majeſtie, the good of Your Poſterity, and the Peace and Proſperity of this Kingdom; we humbly beſeech Your Majeſtie graciouſly to hearken unto them, and to grant them; and that you would joyn with Your Parliament in a ſpeedy and effectuall courſe for the Preſervation of their Liberties, and the Peace of the Kingdom, which dutie, as we are now called upon by that Countie to diſcharge, ſo do we ſtand engaged to God and man for the performance thereof by the truſt repoſed in us, and by our ſolemn Vow and Proteſtation; And Your Majeſtie, together with us, ſtands engaged by the like Obligation of truſt, and of an Oath, beſides the many and earneſt Profeſſions and Proteſtations, which Your Majeſtie hath made to this Purpoſe to Your whole Kingdom in generall, and to that Countie in particular; the Peace and quiet of the Kingdom (as is well obſerved by theſe Gentlemen and Free-holders of *Yorkſhire* in their Petition) being the onely viſible means under God, wherein conſiſts the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the Redemption of our brethren in *Ireland*, and the happineſſe and proſperity of Your Majeſtie, and of all Your Dominions.

His MAJESTIES Answer to the Petition of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, presented to His MAJESTIE at Yorke, *the* 17 *of* June. 1642.

HIs Majestie having carefully weighed the matter of this Petition presented to Him at York on Friday the seventeenth of June, by the Lord Howard, Sir Hugh Cholmely, Sir Philip Stapleton, Though He might refer the Petitioners to His two last Declarations, wherein most of the Particulars in this Petition are fully answered, or might refuse to give any Answer at all, till He had received satisfaction in those high Indignities He hath so often complained of, and demanded Justice for; Yet that all the World may see how desirous His Majestie is to leave no Act which seemes to carry the Reputation of both his houses of Parliament, and in the least degree to reflect upon His Majesties Justice and Honour, unanswered; Is graciously pleased to returne this Answer:

That if the Petition mentioned to be presented to both Houses of Parliament had been annexed to this now delivered to Him, His Majestie might have discerned the number and the quality of the Petitioners, which His Majestie hath great reason to believe was not in trueth so considerable as is pretended: For His Majestie assures you, That He hath never refused any Petition so attested as that would be thought to be; But His Majestie well remem-

remembers, that on the third of June, when there was upon His Majesties Summons, the greatest, and the most cheerfull concourse of people that ever was beheld of one County, appearing before Him at York, a Gentleman (one Sir Thomas Fayrfax) offered in that great Confluence a Petition to His Majestie, which His Majestie seeing to be avowed by no man but himself, and the generall and universall Acclamations of the people seeming to disclaim it, did not receive, conceiving it not to be of so publike a nature, as to be fit to be presented or received in that place: And His Majestie is most confident, (and in that must appeal to those were then present) that what ever the substance of that Petition was, it was not consented to by any considerable number of Gentry, or Freeholders of this County; but solicited by a few, mean, inconsiderable persons, and disliked, and visibly discountenanced by the great Body of the known Gentry, Clergie, and Inhabitants of this whole Countie: And if the matter of that Petition was such as is suggested in this, His Majestie hath great reason to beleeve it was framed and contrived (as many others of such nature have been) in London, not in Yorkshire; For sure no Gentleman of quality and understanding of this County, would talk of His great Preparations of Arms, and other warlike Provisions, to the great Terrour and Amazement of His peaceable Subjects, when they are witnesses of the violent taking His Arms from Him, and stopping all waies for bringing more to Him: And if there were no greater Terrour and Amazement of His Majesties peaceable Subjects in other places by such Preparations and Provisions, there would be no more cause to complaine of a great decay of Trade and Commerce there, then is in this place. But His Majestie

hath so great an assurance of the Fidelity and generall Affections of His good Subjects of this County, (which He hopes will prove exemplar over His whole Kingdom) that He hath great cause to beleeve, That they do rather complain of His Majesties Confidence, and of His Slownesse; That whilest there is such endeavour abroad to raise Horse, and to provide Arms against His Majestie, and that endeavour put in execution, His Majestie trusts so much to the Justice of His Cause, and the Affections of His people, and neglects to provide strength to assist that Justice, and to protect those Affections.

For any Affronts offered by the Earl of Lindsey, or the Lord Savill to those who intended to petition His Majestie; His Majestie wishes that both His Houses of Parliament would have examined that Information, and the credit of the Informers, with that gravity and deliberation, as in Cases which concern the Innocence and Honour of Persons of such quality hath been accustomed, before they had Proscribed two Peers of the Realm, and exposed them (as much as in them lay) to the rage and fury of the people, under the Character of being Enemies to the Common-wealth, A brand newly found out (and of no Legall signification) to incense the people by, and with which the simplicity of former times was not acquainted; And then His Majestie hath some reason to beleeve, they would have found themselves as much abused in the report concerning those Lords, as He is sure they are in those which tell them of the Resort of great numbers and discontented Persons to Him, and of the other particulars mentioned to be in that Petition; whereas they who observe what resort is here to His Majestie, well know it to be of the prime Gentlemen of

all

all the Counties in England, whom nothing but the love of Religion, the care of the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, besides their Affection to His Person, could engage into great Journeys, Trouble and expence, Men of as precious Reputation, and as exemplary Lives, as this Nation hath any, whose assistance His Majestie knows He must not expect, if He should have the least Designe against Honour and Justice; And such witnesses His Majestie desires to have of all His Actions.

For the declining all other Counsells and the uniting His Confidence to His Parliament, His Majestie desires both His Houses of Parliament seriously and sadly to consider, that it is not the name of a great or little Councell that makes the Results of that Councell just or unjust; neither can the imputation upon His Majestie of not being advised by His Parliament (especially since all their Actions and all their Orders are exposed to the Publique view) long mislead His good Subjects, except in truth they see some particular sound advice necessarie to the Peace and happinesse of the Common-wealth disesteemed by His Majestie, and such an instance He is most assured, neither can nor shall be given, and that they will think it merit in His Majestie from the Common-wealth to reject such Counsell as would perswade Him to make Himself none of the three Estates, by giving up His negative voice to allow them a Power superior to that which the Law hath given Him, whensoever it pleaseth the major part present of both Houses to say, that He doth not discharge His trust as He ought, and to subject His, and His Subjects unquestionable Right and Propriety to their Votes, without and against Law, upon the meer pretence of necessitie. And His Majestie must appeal to all the World, who it is that endeavours

vours to divide the joynt dutie of His Subiects, His Majestie who requires nothing but what their own dutie, guided by the infallible Rule of the Law, leads them to do, or they who by Orders and Votes (opposite and contradictory to Law, Custome, president and reason) so confound the affections and understandings of His good Subiects, that they know not how to behave themselves with honestie and safetie, whilest their Conscience will not suffer them to submit to the one, nor their security to apply themselves to the other. It is not the bare saying that His Majesties Actions are against the Law (with which He is reproached in this Petition, as if He departed from His often Protestations to that purpose) must conclude Him, there being no one such particular in that Petition alledged, of which His Majestie is in the least degree guiltie, whether the same reverence and esteem be paid by you to the Law, (except your own Votes be judge) needs no other Evidence, then those many, very many Orders published in Print, both concerning the Church and State, those long Imprisonments of severall persons without hearing them upon generall information, and the great and unlimited Fees to your Officers, worse then the Imprisonment, and the Arbitrary censure upon them when they are admitted to be heard; Let the Law be judge by whom it is violated.

For that part of the Petition which seems to accuse His Majestie of a purpose to dissolve this Parliament (contrary to the Act for the Continuance) by Commanding away the Lords and great Officers, whose attendance is necessary, which His Majestie well knows to be a new Calumny, by which the Grand Contrivers of ruine for the State hope to seduce the minds of the people

ple from their affection to, or into Jealousie of His Majestie, as if He meant this way to bring this Parliament (which may be the case of all Parliaments) to nothing; it is not possible for His Majestie more to express His affection to, and His Resolution for the Freedom, Libertie and Frequencie of Parliaments, then He hath done. And who ever considers how visible it must be to His Majestie, that it is impossible for Him to subsist without the affections of His People, and that those affections cannot possibly be preserved or made use of but by Parliaments, cannot give the least credit, or have the least suspition, that His Majestie would chuse any other way to the happinesse He desires for Himself and His Posteritie, but by Parliaments. But for His calling the Lords hither, or any others absenting themselves, who have not been called, who ever considers the Tumults (which no Votes or Declaration can make to be no Tumults) by which His Majestie was driven away, and many Members of either House in danger of their lives, the demanding the names of those Lords who would not consent to their Propositions by Message from the House of Commons delivered at the Barr by Walter Hollis, with that most tumultuous Petition in the Name of many thousands (among many other of the same kinde) directed to the House of Commons, and sent up by them to the House of Lords, taking notice of the prevalence of a malignant Faction, which made abortive all their good Motions, which tended to the peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, desiring that those noble Worthies of the House of Peers who concurred with them in their happy Votes, might be earnestly desired to joyn with that honourable House, and to sit and chuse as one entire Body, protesting that unlesse some speedy

remedy were taken for the removeall of all such obstructions as hindred the happy progresse of their great endeavours, their Petitioners should not rest in quietnesse, but should be inforced to lay hold on the next remedy which was at hand to remove the disturbers of their Peace, and (want and necessity breaking the bounds of modesty) not to leave any means unassayed for their relief, adding that the cry of the Poor and needy was, that such Persons who were the Obstacles of their Peace, and hinderers of the happy proceedings of this Parliament might be forthwith publikely declared, whose removeall they conceived would put a Period to these distractions; upon which a great number of Lords departing, the Vote in order to the Ordinance concerning the Militia was immediatly past, though it had been twice before put to the Question, and rejected by the Votes of much the major part of that House. And whoever considers the strange Orders, Votes and Declarations which have since passed, to which whosoever would not consent, that is, with freedom and liberty of language and reason professe against, was in danger of Censure and Imprisonment, will not blame Our Care in sending for them, or theirs in coming, or absenting themselves from being involved in such Conclusions. Neither will it be any objection that they stayed there long after any Tumults were, and therefore that the Tumults drave them not away: If every day produced Orders and Resolutions as illegall as, and indeed but the effects of the Tumults, there was no cause to doubt the same power would be ready to prevent any Opposition to those Orders after they were made, which had made way and preparation for the Propositions of them, and so whosoever conceived himself

in

in danger of future Tumults (againſt which there is not the leaſt proviſion) was driven away by thoſe which were paſt; And His Majeſtie hath more reaſon to wonder at thoſe who ſtay behinde, after all His Legall Power is voted from Him, and all the People told, That he might be with modeſty and duty enough depoſed, then any man hath at thoſe who have been willing to withdraw themſelves from the place where ſuch deſperate and dangerous Poſitions are avowed; which His Majeſtie doth not mention with the leaſt thought of leſſening the Power or Validity of any Act to which He hath given His Aſſent this Parliament; All and every of which He ſhall as inviolably obſerve, as He looks to have His own Rights preſerved, but to ſhew by what means ſo many ſtrange Orders have of late been made, And to ſhew how earneſtly His Majeſtie deſires to be preſent at, and to receive Advice from both Houſes of Parliament (againſt whom it ſhall never be in the power of a Malignant Party to incenſe his Majeſtie) His Majeſtie again offers His conſent that both Houſes may be Adjourned to another Place, which may be thought convenient, where His Majeſtie will be preſent, and doubts not but the Members of either Houſe will make a full Appearance; And even the Intermiſſion which muſt attend ſuch an Adjournment may not be the leaſt means of recovering that temper which is neceſſary for ſuch Debates.

And this His Majeſtie conceives to be ſo very neceſſary, that if the mindes and inclinations of every Member of either Houſe were equally compoſed, the Licence is ſo great, that the mean people about London and the Suburbs have taken, that both for the Liberty and Dignity of Parliament, that Convention for a time ſhould

be in another place. And sure how much soever the safety and security of this Kingdom depends on Parliaments, it will never be thought that those Parliaments must of necessity be at Westminster.

His Majesties Confidence is no lesse then he hath expressed (and hath great cause to expresse) in the affections of this County, an instance of which affections all men know, His Guard (which is not extraordinary) to be, and wonders that such a legall Guard at His own charge, for His person, (within twenty miles of a rebellion, and of an Army in pay against Him) should be objected by those, who for so many moneths, and in a place of known and confessed security, have without and against Law kept a Guard for themselves at the charge of the Common-wealth, and upon that stock of money which was given for the relefe of the miserable and bleeding condition of Ireland, or the payment of the great debt due to Our Kingdom of Scotland.

For the resort of Papists to the Court his Majesties great care for the prevention thereof is notoriously known, that when He was informed two or three of his intended Guard were of that Religion, He gave especiall direction, with expressions of His displeasure, that they should be immediatly discharged, and provided that no person should attend on him under that Relation, but such as took the oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy, that He commanded the Sheriffe to proceed with all severity according to the Law against all Papists that should come within five miles of the Court, and if notwithstanding this, there be any Papists neer the Court, (which his Majestie assures you he knowes not, nor hath heard but by this petition) He doth hereby Command them to depart, and declares to all Officers and Ministers

sters of Justice; that they shall proceed strictly against them according to the Law, and as they will answer the contrary at their perils.

For the language and behaviour of the Cavaliers (a word by what mistake soever it seemes much ill disavowed) there hath not been the least complaint here, and therefore it is probable the fault was not found in this County. Neither can His Majestie imagine what is meant by the mention of any men thrust upon them in such Consultations and Propositions as His Majestie makes to this County, who are neither by their Sojourning or Residence any part of it, and therefore can make no Answer to it.

To conclude, His Majestie assures you He hath never refused to receive any Petition, whether you have or no, your selves best know, and will consider what Reputation it will be to you of Justice or Ingenuity to receive all Petitions how senslesse and scandalous soever of one kinde, under pretence of understanding the good peoples mindes and affections, and not onely refuse the Petition, but punish the Petitioners of another kinde, under colour that it is a crime, that they are not satisfied with your sense, as if you were onely trusted by the people of one opinion, to take all pains to publish and print Petitions which agree with your wishes, though they were never presented, and to use the same Industry and Authority to keep those that indeed were presented and avowed from being published (though by Our own Authority) because the Argument is not pleasant to you; To pretend Impartiality and Infallibility, and to expresse the greatest passion and affection in the Order of your Proceeding, and no lesse errour and mis-understanding in your Judgements and Resolutions. He doth

remember

remember well the obligation of His Trust, and of His Oath, and desires that you will do so too, and your own solemn Vow and Protestation, and then you wil not only think it convenient, but necessary to give His Majestie a ful Reparation for all the scandalls laid upon Him, and all the scandalous Positions made against Him, and that it is lesse dishonor to retract errors, then by avowing to confesse the malice of them, & will see this to be the surest way for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, the redemption of Our Brethren in Ireland, the happinesse and prosperity of your selves and of all Our Dominions, and of the Dignity and Freedom of Parliament.

FINIS.

THE PARLIAMENTS MESSAGE TO THE KING AT YORKE.

And his Maiesties warrant to the Countie, with an order to the House of Peeres,

To the { Earle Northampton, Earle of Dover, Earle of Devonshire, Earle of Huntington, Earle of Linsey, Earle of Coventry. } and { L. Savile. L. Howard. L. Mowbray L. Rich. L. Cape. Sir I. Berkley Col. Ashbourne Cap. Pollard. }

And the Earles, Lords, and other severall answers to the said order of the House, Also diverse other famous, and remarkeable occurrences in both Houses of Parliament.

Iune 27 *H. El. Cler. P. D. C.*

Printed *Danniel Hopson.* 1642.

PARLIAMENTS

The Parliaments Meſſage to the King at Yorke.

THe Lords, and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, having with great care, and vigilancie perceived not onely the prepoſterous diſtraction of the Kingdome, but alſo his Maieſties refractary opinion in the State of this Realme doe iuſtly feare, that they are brought moſt ſtudiouſly to the very brinke of calamity, and unleſſe they bee ſollicitous of the Epidemicall ſecurity of this Nation, the fundamentall conſtitutions of the Kingdome may bee violated, the Lawes tranſported, and miſ-interpreted, and the liberties, immurities, and iuſt proprieties of the ſubiects invaded. This the King, and the Parliament mutually fomenting feares, and iealouſies betweene each other, have cauſed the Kingdome to be intricately involved in ſuch a ſtupendious laberynth of diſtraction, that the diſturbed eſtate of the whole Kingdome is ſtrangely, and promiſcuouſly ſhaken thereby. Diverſe and ſeverall Meſſages, and Remonſtrances, Declarations, and Replyes have beene often reflected on each other, and while the Kings indignation is exaſperated the Parliaments

ments ſuſpicion is not deficient upon iuſtifiable grounds. So that untill a pacification, an united concord, and abſolue connection doe concurre betweene them, reconciling all theſe variances, and differences, the peace and proſperity of the Kingdome will depend on an ambiguous, and very dubious ſecurity.

The Parliament precogitating how to confirme the floriſhing tranquillity of the State of of the Kingdome: and to reduce the diſtracted calamity, and diſtractions of the Kingdome to a reciprocall union, have ſent a Meſſage to the King, ſeverall propoſitions being therein included, to deſire his Maieſty to condeſcend thereunto. Firſt, concerning the election of all chiefe officers, as principally concerne the Kingdom, that they might bee choſen by the approbation of both Houſes of Parliament, as the Lord Keeper, Lord High Conſtable, Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chamberlaine, &c. That the Houſes of Parliaments aſtipulation ſhould be reflected on them, to the ſubſequent and enſueing proſperity of this Nation: then that his Maeſtie would graciouſly ſubſcribe, and condeſcend unto the Order of the Militia of the Kingdome, as they have diſcreetly, and moſt iudiciouſly diſpoſed of: and that it ſhould be conferred to the truſty hands of ſuch perſons only, whoſe fidelity were approoved by the conſent of both Houſes of Parliament. That the impeachment of the Lord Kimbolton, and the other five Members of the Houſe of Commons may bee cleered according

to

to the known Law of the Land. And that those tumultuous, and Rebellious Cavelleers, or the Malignant Party, may bee removed from his Maiesties Person, and not instill into his Royall mind by their Parasiticall insinuations a sinister conceit of the Parliaments fidelity: that the bleeding wounds of Ireland may likewise bee endeavoured to bee cured by his Maiesties Royall contribution, and lastly, that the peace, and tranquillity of the Kingdome might bee setled, confirmed, and directly ratified, that no more feares and iealous dangers, and approaching suspitions of bloody contentions might bee accumulated on the conceits of any. These, and severall other things expressed therein, they presented to his Maiestie at Yorke, as an argument to perswade his Maiestie to concurre with the prudency of Parliament, and to reiect, and abrogate his resolution of raysing Armes, and taking forces against his Parliament.

And since there are so many various passages now dayly agitated in Parliament, I shall thinke it not impertinent or incongruent to articulate, and expresse some certaine occurrences that are assiduously treated on. M. Cursan had sent diverse letters to the Lord Herbert in a most sycophantizing, and calumnious manner, intimating that his Maiesty intended to rayse Armes, and all the forces he could possibly, and come against the Parliament by the 29. day of this present month. And it would bee a loyall and Honourable Action for the Lord Herbert to adioyne

ioyne and assist his Maiestie herein: and therefore advised the said Lord to bring all the forces he could, and with all speedy expedition, to conduct them to Yorke, this Letter was presented to the House of Commons, and there read, and afterwards delivered to the House of Peeres, acquainting the Lords therewithall. Whereupon a private warrant immediatly set forth, and was particularly given to M. Pym, for the apprehension of the said Cursan, to answer such matters as should be evidently objected against him, but information was given, that the said Master Cursan was got to his Maiesty for protection, before the Warrant could overtake him. The Lords sent the precedent weeke a Message to divers of the Nobility, now accompanying his Maiestie at Yorke, but they being Members of their Houses, and refusing to obey the Houses Command were sent for as delinquents to make their personall appearance in Parliament, viz,

The { Earle of *Dover*.
Earle of *Northampton*.
Earle of *Devonshire*.
Earle of *Huntington*.
Earle of *Coventry*,

But whenas they understood by their Answers, that they were resolved to stay with his Maiesty being obleiged by those places of Honour, and trust, which his Maiestie had conferred on them, and if they did not comply with his commands they were loyable to displeasure:

and

and Subiect to looſe their places of Honour: then the Lords ſent againe unto them, and withall directing an Order alſo unto

The { Lord *Howard*. / Lord *Mowbray*. / Lord *Rich*. / Lord *Capel*.

but the ſaid Lords contemned the Order, for their appearance, alleadging, that they were engaged to attend upon his Maieſtie, which the Lords have voted to be a great affront to the Parliament, deſiring the Commons alſo to conioyne with them in it, which was accordingly done.

The Free-holders of *Yorke* directed a Petition to the Parliament Expreſſing the great abuſes they ſuſtained at their meeting by the *Earle* of *Lindſey*, and the Lord *Sauile*. Thereupon there was a great debate in the houſe of Commons, and they ſent a Meſſage to the Lords to deſire they would Ioyne with them in ſending a Meſſage to the King, that he would be pleaſed to accepte of the Fre-holders Petition: After which the Commons agreed in a Vote, that the Earle of *Lindſey*, and the Lord *Sauile* ſhould be ſent for, as publike Enemies to the Common wealth and Intendiaries betweene the King and his People, and the Commons deliuered the ſayd *Votes* to the Lords, in which they agreed.

There were letters read in the Houſe which came from *Amſterdam*, Informing that there are many ſhipps ſent from Spaine, that lay in *Dunkerke*

kerk which as it is conceiued are intended for *Ireland*. And that a great part of Irelish, which belong to the King of *France* are lately fallen off, and gone to *Dunkerk*: whereupon there was an Order sent to the Earle of *Warwick*, to desire his carefull vigilance at Sea; and to certefie him of that of that information they had received.

It was Ordered then upon diverse gronnds & iust causes,

Sir *John Berkly*.
That Colonoll *Alhburne*.
Captaine *Pollar*.

Who with his Maiesty at *Yorke*, should be sent for to the House with all celerity.

Information also was given to the House, that his Maiesty had sent Warrants up, and downe that part of the Country for the bringing of all such Armes, as have beene taken from Recusants to his Maiestie.

The House of Commons sent a Messenger to apprehend *Becket*, the great Papist of *Yorke* but the said *Becket* was relcued from him by diuers Cavaleers at *Yorke*, and the Messenger abused by them: And afterwards his Prisoner being delivered to him by meane s of the Committee at *Yorke*, was sent for afterwards to his Maiestie, telling him that when the Parliament gave him Iustice against Sir *Iohn Hotham*, he would deliver *Becket* to them.

FINIS.

A TREATISE OF THE VANITY OF CHILDISH-BAPTISME:

WHEREIN

The deficiency of the BAPTISME of the CHURCH of ENGLAND is considered in five particulars thereof.

AND

wherein also is proved, that *Baptizing* is Dipping, and Dipping *Baptizing*.

[redacted] *A. R.* [redacted]

Proverbs 4. 25. 26, 27.

Let thine eyes looke right on, and let thine eyelids looke straight before thee.
Ponder the path of thy feet; and let all thy waies be established.
Turne not to the right hand nor to the left, remove thy foote from evill.

LONDON,
Printed in the yeare, MDCXLII.

TO THE READER.

HAving with moſt ſerious thoughts minded divers texts of Scripture, which doe evidently ſet out Baptiſme *to be an undoubted pledge from God, to all the right Subjects to whom it is applyed, of the free Pardon and Remiſſion of all their Sinnes,* Mar. 1. 4. *and* 16. 16. Acts 2. 38. *and* 22. 16. 1 Pet. 3. 21. *And finding alſo That* Baptiſme *is deſigned only to Beleevers, upon their making Profeſſion of Faith, and their willing ſubmiſſion thereunto,* Mat. 28. 19. Ioh. 3. 22. *compared with* 4. 1, 2. Act. 2. 41. *and* 8. 12. 37, 38. *and* 18. 8. *And ſeeing likewiſe that the right Subjects are not to be meerly paſſive, but are required, and did perform therein ſuch duties as are incompatible to all Infants and perſons deſtitute of underſtanding,* Mat. 3. 2. 6. Mar. 1. 5. Act. 22. 16. Gal. 3. 27. Col. 2. 12. *compared with* 3. 1. *I could not without*

out unfaithfullneſſe to God and my owne Conſcience) but much ſuſpect the truth of the Baptiſme *which I had in my Infancie, in the Church of* England; *whereupon I diligently tryed by all good waies and meanes for ſatisfaction in this point, yet found none: But the more I tryed, the more I ſtill ſaw the unwarrantableneſſe for the Baptizing of Infants, even by the invalidity and inſufficiencie of the very ſtrongeſt Arguments, which are and could be given by the beſt and ableſt mainteyners therof. Inſomuch, that at laſt I found it to be but only a meere devi'ſe and tradition of men, and brought into the world for politique and by ends, and accordingly yet continued, and ſtill defended meerely by the ſubtilty of humane Arts and acuteneſſe of mans braine.*

Wherefore, in diſcharge of my duty to Almighty God, and to expreſſe my unfeined love to my Countrey men and lovers of Truth (for whoſe beſt welfare I count not my life deare) I am now imboldned (courteous Reader) to preſent theſe few lines to thy ſerious view, intreating thee (as thou wilt anſwer it at the great day) herein to lay aſide all prejudice and partiality, duly to weigh all things, and to imbrace the naked Truth of God in the love thereof, and not to reſpect it as

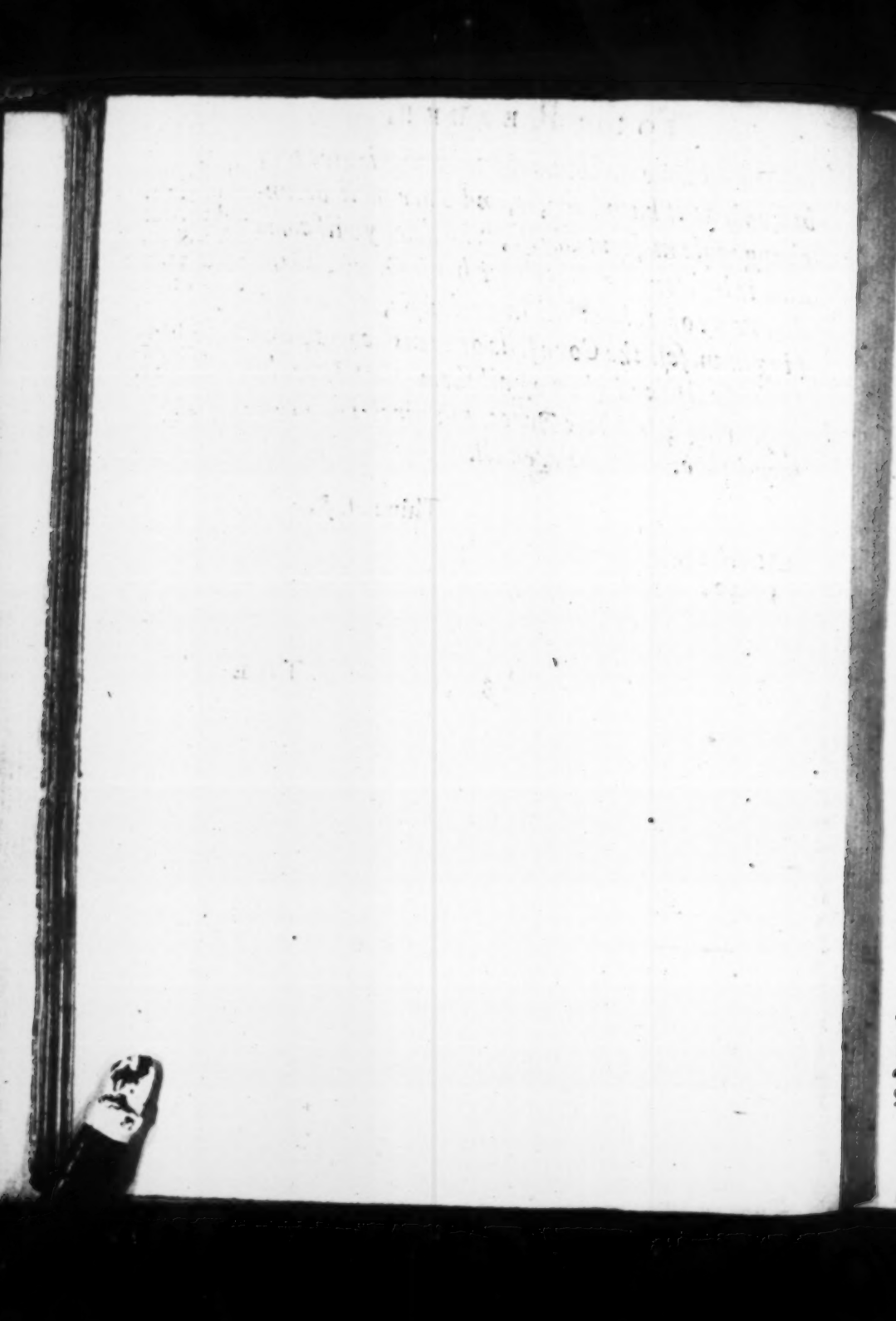
it

it hath eſteeme in the world with variable men, but only as it hath been, is, and ever will be unchangeable in Jeſus Chriſt, who ſhortly will come and inlighten the Earth with his Glory, to the diſcovery of things hid in darkneſſe, to the making manifeſt the Counſells of mens hearts, and to the praiſe and glory of all them that love his appearing; to whoſe Grace and direction I commend thee. Farewell.

Luk. 21. 27. Iſa. 40. 5. 10. and 24. 23. and 25. 8. & 28. 5. & 30. 26. & 31. 4. & 66. 15. 16. 18. 1 Cor. 4. 5. Pſal. 72. 6 7. Iſa. 2. 20. 21. 2 Tim. 4. 8. Col. 3. 4.

Thine *A. R.*

March 25.
1642.



THE VANITY OF Childish Baptisme,

And of Sprinckling, or washing, any part of the Body, for *Baptisme*; Briefly examined.

THAT *Baptisme* is a great Ordinance of the New Testament, And that it is the duty of every true Beleever, or Disciple of Jesus Christ, to submit thereunto, cannot be denyed: for Christ commands his Disciples, *Matth.* 28. 19. *to goe and make Disciples all Nations, Baptizing them, &c.* And *Peter* exhorts generally *Acts* 2. 38. *Repent every one of you and be Baptized.*

But now the great Question which most concerneth us is this: *Whether that which is administred in the Church of* England *for Baptisme, be the Baptisme of the New Testament or not?* And herein we will briefly consider these five particulars:

1. *The End for which*
2. *The Manner in which*
3. *The Power by which*
4. *The Ground from which*
5. *The Subject on which*

} Baptisme is there Administred.

And

And Firſt, of the firſt, and ſo in order.

1. Firſt, *The End for which Baptiſme is there adminiſtred*, is to Regenerate the Infants there Baptized; as may appeare by the forme of *Baptiſme* ſet forth in their Lyturgie, when the Infants are preſented at the Font.

The Miniſter beſpeakes the Congregation thus, *Foraſmuch as All men be conceived and borne in ſinne, and that our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, none can enter into the Kingdome of God except he be regenerated and borne a new of water and the Holy Ghoſt: I beſeech you to call upon God the Father, through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that of his bountifull mercy he will grant to theſe Children, that thing which by nature they cannot have, that they may be Baptized with Water and the Holy Ghoſt.*

Then the Miniſter and People pray thus: *We beſeech thee of thy infinite mercies, that thou wilt mercifully looke upon theſe Children, ſanctifie and waſh them with the holy Ghoſt, that they being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the Arke of Chriſts Church, and being ſtedfaſt in faith, joyfull through hope, and rooted in Charity, &c.*

Againe, they pray thus, *We call upon thee for theſe Infants, that they coming to thy Holy Baptiſme, may receive the remiſſion of their ſinnes, by Spiritual Regeneration, &c.*

Againe, in the third Prayer thus: *Give thy Holy Spirit to theſe Infants, that they may be borne againe, and be made Heires of everlaſting ſalvation.*

After this the Miniſter having ſprinkled or caſt a little water on the Childrens faces, he openly forthwith (without bluſhing) ſaith, *Now ſeeing that theſe Children be regenerate and grafted into the body of Chriſts Congregation, &c.*

And then exhorts the people to give thanks to God, for that it hath pleaſed him to regenerate the Infants with his Holy Spirit, and received them for his own Children by Adoption, *&c.*

And with all this agrees the Catechiſme, wherein the Children are appointed to be inſtructed, after they are growne to yeares of diſcretion; for to the Queſtion, *Who gave you that name?* they are to anſwere, *My Godfathers and*

and Godmothers in my Baptiſme wherein I was made a member of Chriſt, a Child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdome of Heaven.

If any man queſtion the truth of this Doctrine, let him take notice of theſe few Authors, inſtead of many more that I could alledge, which ſerve to juſtifie the ſame.

HIEROM ſaith, *The ſpirit of God moved upon the waters,* whence it is evident, that *Baptiſme* cannot be without the SPIRIT. *Adver. Luciferr.*

AUGUSTINE ſaith, *That in Infants Baptized the Holy Ghoſt doth dwell, although they be not aware of it.* *Ep. 57. ad Dardanum.*

ZANCHIUS ſaith, *not unfitly do the Fathers teach, that effect of the Holy Ghoſt upon the waters,* which *Moſes* deſcribeth *Gen.* 1. to be a reſemblance of that which the Holy Ghoſt performeth in the water of Baptiſme; for as there he reſted upon thoſe waters, that he might cheriſh and prepare them for the producing of living creatures, and for the Generation of all things: So the Holy Ghoſt ſits upon the waters of *Baptiſme,* and ſits as it were abrood upon them, and bleſſeth them, and thence doth cheriſh, regenerate and animate the Elect, *&c.* *De Trib. Elohim. Lib. 7. c. 1.*

PETER MARTYR, *In Infants, who by reaſon of their tender yeares cannot beleeve, the Holy Ghoſt ſupplieth the roome of Faith.* *Loc. com. clas. 4 Cap. 8. Sect. 2.*

AUGUSTINE cited by Biſhop JEWELL, *Def. ch.* 11. ſaith, *Infants have Faith of their own, becauſe they have Baptiſme, the Sacrament of Faith. For* (ſaith he) *as the Sacrament of Chriſts Body, after a certaine manner of Speech, is Chriſts body, ſo Baptiſme is Faith, becauſe it is the Sacrament of Faith.*

Dr. WHITAKER: *Infants are purged by the Spirit, ſeeing they are in the Church, and of the Church, Chriſt ſanctifieth his Church.* *Treatiſe of the Sacraments.*

The end for which Infants are Baptized in the Church of *England,* is to regenerate them, and that they may be borne anew, and accordingly it is concluded in the Catechiſme, and confirmed by all theſe Authors, and divers others well

knowne to our Miniſters, the maintainers of this doctrine, *That in Baptiſme they receive the Holy Spirit, that they are regenerate and borne a new, that they are made the members of Chriſt, the children of* God, *and heires of the Kingdome of Heaven.*

In anſwere to all which, I ſhall ſay nothing, but only reaſon this with ſome other of their own principles, and practiſe, and thereby I doubt not, but it will appeare to all, how unfaithfully they have, and do delude the Nations in this particular.

They are regenerate and borne againe in Baptiſme, they are then made the members of Chriſt, the Children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdome of Heaven. *Why then they are all ſaved*; No not ſo, for the Miniſters twenty yeares after, (if the Children live ſo long) preach Regeneration, Repentance, and converſion to them, and tell them, that they muſt then be regenerate and borne againe, or elſe they cannot enter into the Kingdome of God, for *without holyneſſe no man can ſee the Lord. Why, but what needs this? were they regenerate and borne againe in their Infancy, when they were Baptized? and muſt they yet be regenerate and born again the ſecond time, or have they loſt their firſt generation & new birth? and of the children of God and members of* Chriſt, *become the Limbs of Satan, and children of the* Divell? No not ſo neither, for the Miniſters of the Church of *England*, both have & will defend and maintain, the Doctrin of perſeverance in the Regenerate, and members of Chriſt, both againſt *Pelagians*, *Arminians*, and *Papiſts*, or whoſoever elſe ſhall oppoſe or queſtion the ſame; *What then, were they in their Baptiſme, regenerate and borne againe, made the members of* Chriſt, *and children of* God, &c. *and have they not, nor can they not fall away from that eſtate, and yet ſhall they not be ſaved? will* God *loſe his children, or* Chriſt *his members, doth not* Chriſt *ſay*, except a man be regenerate and borne againe, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of God, *Ioh.* 3. 5. thereby aſſuring us, that if a man be regenerate and borne againe, he ſhall enter into the Kingdome of Heaven.

Here now theſe learned Divines are at as great a ſtraight

to

to defend their propoſition, and to avoyd the Arminians, and others conſequents, that will neceſſarily follow thereupon, as their predeceſſors, the Prieſts and Elders, were to juſtifie themſelves, in their rejecting of the counſell of God, *Luke* 7. 30. When Chriſt demanded of them, whether the Baptiſme of *Iohn* was from heaven, or of men, *Mat.* 21, 25. And therefore in all likelyhood, they thus reaſon and debate the matter amongſt themſelves. If we ſhould ſay, that Infants are not regenerate and borne againe in Baptiſme, then our adverſaries the *Anabaptiſts* (as we uſe to terme them) will ſay, that then our forme of Baptizing of Infants before laid down, together with the Teſtimonies of our learned Fathers, (to whom both in this point, and divers other, we are more beholding, then either to Chriſt himſelfe, or to any of his Apoſtles) are nothing but meere conceits of mans fooliſh braine, firſt invented to make all the world wonder after the Beaſt, which otherwiſe never had, nor poſſibly could have bin brought to paſſe, beſides this, we our ſelves ſhall be found falſe witneſſes of God, and falſe Prophets to the people, in pronouncing before God and them, and bearing them in hand all the time of our raigne over them, even unto this day, that God hath regenerate and begotten againe their Infants in Baptiſme, when there is no ſuch matter; yea and how impudent and audacious ſhall we be judged to be, in that we have ſolemly given thanks to God for regenerating their Infants in Baptiſme, requiring the people alſo to joyne with us therein, exhorting them not to doubt, but confidently beleeve the truth thereof. If now we ſhould acknowledge, that they are not regenerate and borne againe therein: Moreover if we ſhould grant, that Infants are not regenerate and born againe in Baptiſme, then it will follow, that our Church hath a falſe conſtitution, not being conſtituted of Chriſtians, beleevers, Diſciples, Sonnes and Daughters of God, but contrariwiſe of perſons borne in ſinne, dead in treſpaſſes and ſinnes, the children of wrath, even of ſuch perſons, as we declare Infants to be before we Baptize them; and then

our own definition of a true visible Church, in the 19 Article, (where it is said, *that every true visible Church, consisteth of beleeving men and women*) will rise up against us, and declare us not to be the true Church of Christ. Againe on the other side, if we shall stand to it and maintaine, that they are Regenerate and borne againe in *Baptisme*; then first it will follow, that the greatest part of our preaching might very well be spared; for the whole Nation are regenerate and borne againe before we preach at all unto them (namely in their *Baptisme*) And also secondly it will follow, that we convert none by our Ministry; and then the Scale and marke of our Ministry, whereby we use to prove the same true against the *Brownists*, will utterly faile us. And thirdly, we shall justly be impeached, as abbettors of that Popish Tenet, that Sacraments convey Grace, *Ex opere operato*, by the worke done. And last of all, it will undeniably follow, as the Arminians use strongly to inferre against us, from this ground: *That either the whole Nation is saved, or that the Children of God and members of Christ, persons regenerate and borne againe, may finally fall away and be damned.* Now Sirs, by this craft yee know we have our wealth, *Acts* 19, 25. we must therefore of necessity here Sophisticate the matter by some distinction, though never so absurd, to bleere the eyes of the Nation, and stop the Clamors of those that thus persue us, to whom if we say nothing, but let them alone, in short time, as it is said of the *Samaritans* Act. 8. 10. when *Philip* preached the Lord Jesus Christ unto them, that all the people from the least unto the greatest, will give eare unto them, and then our Kingdom is at an end, for which purpose some of them have improved their skill, and thinking to silence the controversie, as it is here stated; thus to distinguish, neither absolutly affirming, that they are regenerate in Baptisme, nor granting that they are not, but that they are in the charity of the Church only so esteemed; neither are any required to beleeve them to be regenerate, as an Article of their Faith, but in the judgement of charity.

In answere to which, I desire them to informe me in the ground

ground of this their charity: for if it hath no ground in the word of God, which is the rule of charity; It cannot be termed charity, but folly and presumption, so to beleeve; like unto that of the wicked, who beleeve they shall have peace, when as there is no peace to them, *Isa.* 48.22. for hath God any where in his word spoken, or Christ promised, or the Apostles taught, that hee will give his Spirit to Infants, to regenerate them in Baptisme? surely not a word: no more then he hath said, that he will destroy them in hell: Therefore as it would be rash and censorious for any to judge they shall be damned, in regard the Lord hath no where so declared; so on the otherside, it must needs be great folly, madnesse and presumption, for any to beleeve their Regeneration in Baptisme; forasmuch as the Lord hath no where so promised: Therefore for shame leave off this kinde of jugling, and give glory to God, in acknowledgeing the truth, and then with me you will say, *It is no more the charity of your Church to beleeve thus, but the presumption, yea the craft and subtiltie of the Prelates and Priesthood of your Church, for their bellies sake, thus to delude and seduce the people.*

But it after all this, they shall object and say, *That Infants are elected, and therefore may be Baptized.* *Object.*

To that I answere, that all Infants ne not elected, and therefore all Infants ought not to be *Baptised.* *Answ.*

But they will reply, *That in regard some Infants are elected, and none can say that this or that particular Infant is not elected, therefore Baptisme must be administred to all, because we may not denie the elect their privileges, for feare of giving to others, that which belongs not to them.* *Object.*

To this I answere, That if it be a warrantable ground, for us to administer *Baptisme* to all Infants, because that some particular Infants are elected, then by the same reason it will follow, That *Baptisme* may lawfully be administred to every man and woman in the world, because amongst them also we may judge that some are elected: But this contradicteth the order and rule of Christ, laid downe in the commission, *Matth.* 28. 19. where he saith, *Goe teach all Nations,* *Answ.*

ons, and Baptiſe them: and Mark 16. 16. *He that beleeveth and is Baptiſed ſhall be ſaved: firſt teach them,* (*that is,* make them Diſciples, or beleevers,) and then Baptiſe them, and not before. Therefore this reaſon brought for the Baptizing of all infants, becauſe that ſome infants are elected, muſt be ranked amongſt other of their Sophiſmes, before detected.

2. This being granted (which is not true) *that Baptiſme is to be adminiſtred upon the elect before they manifeſt faith,* then except we could know the elect from thoſe that are not elected we ought to adminiſter it to none at all, for we may in no caſe do evill, that good may come thereon, *Rom* 3. 8.

Therefore whenſoever the Lord commandeth us a duty, or forbiddeth us any evill, he alwaies preſcribeth unto us ſome rules, that in the obſervation thereof, we may anſwere him in what he requireth of us, and never for want of inſtructions, leaves us in ſuch ſtraites, that we cannot obey him in one, but of neceſſity we muſt offend him in the other; And therefore we ſee when he commandeth us, in *Mat.* 7. 15. *to ſhun and beware of falſe Prophets,* he preſently directeth us how to know them from his true Miniſters, whom hee requireth us very highly to love and eſteeme. 1 *Theſſa.* 5. 12, 13. And ſo likewiſe doth he in point of *Baptiſme,* not only command the duty, but alſo appoints the perſons whom he would have *Baptized, Matt* 28. 19. elſe he would come farre ſhort of *Moſes,* who was faithfull in all Gods houſe, *Numb.* 12. 7. but Chriſt was as faithfull as *Moſes, Heb.* 3. 2. Therfore this objection which granteth, that the Lord intendeth his *Baptiſme* only for the elect, and yet layeth an abſolute neceſſitie to adminiſter it to all others to whom he intendeth it not, is moſt vaine and frivolous, and therefore to be rejected of all.

And were it poſſible for us to know and diſtinguiſh the elect from the other, as it is not, yet *I* would faine ſee theſe profound Clarks make it appeare by the authority of the Scripture, that they might lawfully upon that ground only adminiſter *Baptiſme* unto them: I denie it utterly, and affirme

firme that its true faith only manifested and made knowne by confession with the mouth that gives the elect admission to Baptisme, *Act*. 8. 37. *Rom*. 14. 23. And thus this objection is vanished away; and so I shall proceed to the second particular.

2. The manner in which Baptisme is there administred, which is by sprinckling or casting a little water upon the head or face of the child *Baptised*; wherein they shew themselves, as contrary to Christ, as in the former particular, forasmuch as the institution of Christ requireth that the whole man be dipped all over in water.

For the manner of the use of water in *Baptisme*, must be either by infusion, or by dipping.

But *Iohn* the *Baptist* or dipper, according to the *Dutch* Version, did use the water, by putting the party in the water, and not by infusing or sprinkling water upon the party, as is proved, *Mat*. 3, 11. *Ego men baptizo humas en hudati*, I indeed Baptize you in water, *Mark*. 1. 8. *ego men ebaptisa humas en hudati* I indeed have Baptized you in water, also *Iohn*. 1. 26. *Acts* 11. 16. All these point out a *Baptisme* in water, but not a *Baptisme* with water.

Εγω μὲν βάπτιζω ὑμας ἐν ὕδατι.

Εγω μὲν ἐβαπτισα ὑμας ἐν ὕδατι.

Obj. But the word (*En*) doth sometimes signifie (with) as in *Rev*. 19, 21. *Kai Hoi Loipoi apecteathesan en te romfaia*.

καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπεκτάνθησαν ἐν τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ.

A. Never after this word *Baptizo* which signifies to dip, for if it should, then it would be no sense, to say, *dip with water*, Therefore either the word *Baptizo* must signify to sprinkle, or else the word *En* must not signifie (with) but the word *Baptizo* doth signifie to dip, *Ergo* the word *En* must signifie (in) and not (with) as is proved very clearely, and desired by none, who are not ignorant of the language; for the Greeke Authors account *bapto* and *baptizo* to signifie that for which the Latines use *mergere, immergere, (tingere immergendo)* (that is to say) to dip, to plunge, to douse over head or under water; As is proved by Christs own baptisme, Mat 1. 9. *kai ebaptisthe hupo Ioannou eis ton Jordanen*: And he was baptized of John into the Jordan: but it is not the water of Jordan was put upon him, as in sprinkling, the water

Καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην.

ter is put upon the party. And by *Plut. Lib. de Superſt: verbis utitur, Baptiſon ſeauton eis Thalaſſan*, baptiſe thy ſelfe into the Sea, which if *bapto* or *baptizo* ſignifie to ſprinkle, is to be Engliſhed, ſprinkle thy ſelfe into the Sea, and *Lu. 1.9.* he was ſprinkled of *John* in the Jordan, but that is very falſe and without all ſenſe, and therefore without all diſpute: therefore the word *En* (as uſed after this word *baptizo*) muſt ſignifie, in, and not with.

βάπτισον σεαυτὸν εἰς θάλασσαν.

Furthermore your Tranſlators themſelves, (as is to bee ſeene openly) give it to Dip, *Mat. 26, 23. O embapſas*, he that dippeth, *Mark 14. 20. O embaptomenos* that dippeth *Luke 16. 24. hina bapſe* that he may dip, *Ioh. 13. 26. ho ego bapſas.* to whom when I have dipped, *Rev 19. 13. Himation bebamenon*, dipt; unleſſe they will make a different ſignification of *baptizo* from *bapto*, which they can never do, either out of the Greeke Authors, or the Scriptures written by the Apoſtles in that language, but *Mar. 7. 4. Baptiſmous Poterion, lotiones poculorum Ben: Ar. Montan:* the ſtricteſt Tranſlator makes *Lotiones Poculorum*, that is, the waſhing of cups not the ſprinkling of cups, for the waſhing of cups is a putting of the cups into the water, and not a putting or infuſing water upon the cups: Therefore it is very plaine, that the uſe of the water in baptiſme, was not ſprinkling the Subject with water, or as I may ſay, an impoſing of water upon the Subject to be baptized, but a putting or demerſion of the Subject into the water.

ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος.
Ἵνα βάψῃ.
ὃν ἐγὼ βάψας
Ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον.
Βαπτισμοὺς ποτηρίων.

The truth of this will further appeare from the conſideration of theſe Scriptures, *Ioh. 3. 23.* It is ſaid of *Iohn, that* he baptized in *Aenon* beſide *Salim*, becauſe there were many waters there, that is much deepe or great water, as *Rev. 1. 15.* which reaſon of the Spirit of God, (becauſe there were many waters there) ſhould be rendred in vaine, if a little water had bin ſufficient for *Iohn* to have baptized the people withall; for we know that any little Font as you uſe, would have yeelded him water enough to have taken thereof by handfulls to have ſprinkled the whole world withall, but there were manie waters, not waters only.

Againe,

Againe, *Acts* 8. 38 39. It is ſaid of *Philip* and the *Eunuch*, that they went downe both of them into the water, which they would not have done, if waſhing or ſprinkling of the face had bin the appointment of the Lord, and would have ſerved the turne: it was alſo ſaid of *Chriſt*, That he was baptized or dipped by *John*, *Matth.* 3.16. *Mar.* 1.10. and that he came out of the water, which implies his going in the water, which had bin likewiſe needleſſe, if ſprinkling would have ſerved. And in *Colo.* 2. 12. *buried with him in Baptiſme, wherein you are alſo riſen with him* &c.

Againe, *Rom* 6. 4. 5. it is ſaid, *we are buried with him by Baptiſme into his death.* And if we have bin planted together in the likeneſſe of his death, we ſhall alſo in the likeneſſe of his Reſurrection. And in 1 *Cor.* 15. 29. Saint *Paul* amongſt other arguments to prove the Reſurrection hath theſe words, *what ſhall they doe which are Baptized for dead, if the dead riſe not at all? why then are they Baptized for dead?*

Now let any man that is not quite fallen out with his reaſon, judge, whether waſhing or ſprinkling the face with water, or dipping the whole man into water, and riſing again out of the water, doth anſwere all theſe Texts of Scripture: he muſt needs conclude, that dipping the whole man into water, doth anſwere them all, and ſprinkling or waſhing without dipping not at all, for what ſimilitude hath ſprinkling with death, burying, riſing againe? none at all, but dipping is a full reſemblance of all, and holds out unto us our profeſſion, ſelfe-deniall, and our forſaking of all for Chriſts ſake, without which we cannot be his Diſciples, *Luk.* 14. 26, 33.

Now then if we well conſider theſe Texts, we ſhall finde that they uſed the water by putting the party into the water, that is, dipping him, and not by putting, infuſing, or ſprinkling (which are all one) the water upon the party.

Therefore dipping, and not ſprinkling or waſhing without dipping, muſt needs be the truth of that inſtitution, and the proper ſenſe of the Holy Ghoſt in the Scripture dialect.

For as a learned and approved Author hath noted, the

Greeke wants not words to expreſſe any other act, alwell as ſ.pping: If the inſtitution could beare it, *Caſaub.* upon *Mat.* 3. 11. for the Greeke to ſprinkle, is *rantizo:* much humane authority, both ancient and moderne, might be produced herein, all which would be needleſſe, ſeeing the Scripture it ſelfe is ſo cleere in the point, as is before already declared. ῥαντίζω.

Nor can it be proved, That Baptiſme was adminiſtred any other way, then by dipping, for at leaſt a thouſand yeares after Chriſt.

To conclude then this point: if to *Baptiſe* be to dip, (as is proved) then whoſoever is not dipped, is not *Baptized*, and he that is only ſprinkled, or hath water only impoſed upon him, is not dipped, whence this conſequence clearely reſults.

That all thoſe that have the adminiſtration of *Baptiſme*, either by ſprinkling or by any waſhing without dipping, have not the *Baptiſme* of the *New-teſtament*, and by conſequence are un-baptized perſons. *Repent yee therefore and be Baptized every one of you, into the name of the Lord Ieſus, for the remiſſion of ſinnes*, Acts 2. 38. *And now why tarrieſt thou? ariſe and be Baptized, and waſh away thy ſinnes, calling on the name of the Lord*, Acts 22. 16.

For rebellion is as the ſinne of witch-craft, and ſtubbornneſſe as iniquity and Idolatry, 1 Sam. 15. 23.

3. Thirdly, The power, authority, and office of the miniſtry, by which it is there adminiſtred, is received from the *Biſhops*, who received their power from the Antichriſtian State of *Rome*: That the *Biſhops* received their power from *Rome* is manifeſt, and alſo confeſſed by themſelves, in their book of *Ordination*, dedicated to Arch-Biſhop *Abbot*, by *Francis Maſon*, and printed by authority *Anno Dom.* 1613. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. *fol.* 11. That this is ſo, and that the office of the miniſtry there exerciſed, is received from the *Biſhop*, is a thing moſt evidently knowne, whereupon it muſt needs follow, that ſeeing the power and authority, whereby *Baptiſme* is there adminiſtred, is not from Chriſt, but from an Antichriſtian

ſtian Hieratchie; that the Baptiſme it ſelfe is not from *Chriſt* but from Antichriſt likewiſe.

The *Nonconformiſts* themſelves teach us thus to reaſon, for although they approve the *Baptiſme* of Infants, when it is adminiſtred by themſelves, or their brethren, yet the baptiſme adminiſtred by the midwife, as it was appointed in the book of Common-prayer, that they repute to be nothing but a meer prophaning of the name of the Lord. *Why ſo?* did not the mid-wife baptiſe a right Subject? (to wit) an Infant with a right Element, namely, with water in a right manner? *viz.* by ſprinkling water on the face of the Child to a right end (that is to ſay) to regenerate the Infant, and all this in the name (at leaſt as they conceive) and to the ſervice of the bleſſed Trinity. Now ſeeing that in all this, the mid-wife was as right as any of them; why ſhould not the baptiſme adminiſtred by the mid-wife, be as warrantable and good, as if it were adminiſtred by any of them? Moreover, was not the mid-wife a Diſciple and a member of the Church, aſwell as they? yea, and had ſhe not as lawfull and as true a calling to that Office as any of them? for did not the *Biſhop* ordaine her thereunto in one caſe, aſwell as authorize them in any other caſe? yet all this availeth nothing with theſe men, to prove this to be the Baptiſme of *Chriſt*; and the reaſon muſt needs be this, (for there can be no other rendred by them) becauſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath no where in his word ordained and appointed any women to adminiſter his *Baptiſme*; Nor no more hath he any where in his word, authorized any men by any falſe power, to adminiſter his baptiſme. And therefore as the former were none of Chriſts Ordinance, but a humane invention, and for that cauſe by King JAMES juſtly rejected: no more is the latter any of Chriſts *Baptiſme*, but one of Antichriſts ſtrong deluſions, 2 *Theſſal.* 2. 11. and which with him ſhall one day goe to perdition. The truth of this is ſeene in all Civill States, wherin when the Ordinances of the ſame are adminiſtred by ſuch perſons as the King or State hath aſſigned thereunto, then are they to be reputed and eſteemed as the Ordi-

nances of the State: but if a ſtranger or any other perſon then ſuch whom the King or State hath ſo authorized, ſhall attempt to do any ſuch action, let him do it never ſo much like to that which is done by authority, (as ſome have bin found too skilfull therein) yet notwithſtanding he is but a counterfeit, and no better then a Traytor, againſt the King and State. Apply we this to the preſent caſe: the Lord Jeſus Chriſt the King of Saints, hath inſtituted and given to his Kingdome (which is his Church) divers ordinances for the well being thereof, and amongſt the reſt, this Ordinance of baptiſme, and for the adminiſtration thereof, he hath given rules and precepts to his Church for the authorizing ſuch and ſuch perſons to adminiſter the ſame. Now when any ſuch perſon, ſo authorized, ſhall dip a beleever in water *in the Name of the Father Sonne and holy Spirit*, This is to be eſteemed and reputed the baptiſme of Chriſt; but when a ſtranger to the common-wealth of *Iſrael*, by a falſe power ſhall performe any ſuch action, let him doe it never ſo much like, and in reſemblance to that which is done by the power and authority of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, given unto his Church, yet this is but a forgery or a counterfait baptiſme, and none of the baptiſme of Chriſt.

That ſuch counterfeits ſhould appeare in the world for the oppoſing of the truth, and deceiving of the people, the Lord long ſince by the Apoſtle foretold, 2 *Tim.* 3. 9. *As Iannes and Iambres* (ſaith he) to wit, the Magicians and Sorcerers of *Egypt*) withſtood *Moſes*, ſo ſhall theſe withſtand the truth: Now *Iannes* and *Iambres* withſtood *Moſes* no otherwiſe then by their arts, counterfaiting and reſembling the ſignes and miracles which *Moſes* and *Aron* by the power of God wrought before *Pharaoh*, for as *Moſes* caſt downe his rod and it became a Serpent, *Exod.* 7. 10. ſo likewiſe the Magicians and Sorcerers caſt down every man his rod, and they became Serpents: alſo ver. 11. 12. *And Pharaohs heart was hardened*: juſt thus deales Antichriſts Miniſters, who by the Spirit and power of Antichriſt reſemble and

counter-

counterfait, and thereby reſiſt and oppoſe the Baptiſme of Chriſt in the hands and miniſtry of his Servants, whereby the hearts and mindes of the people are hardned and prejudiced againſt the ſame, but as the Magicians Serpent was not the Ordinance of God, though like unto the ſame; No more is Antichriſts Baptiſme the Baptiſme of Chriſt, though never ſo much like thereunto. And although notwithſtanding by this their jugling and counterfaiting, they may for a ſeaſon delude the people, and harden their hearts againſt the Lord and his truth, as the Magicians and Sorcerers did *Pharaoh*, yet ſaith the Apoſtle, *they ſhall prevaile no further (Moſes* his Serpent devoured the Magicians*) for their folly ſhall be made manifeſt to all men, as theirs alſo was*, 2 *Tim.* 3. 9.

Object. If any object, *That though they received the Office of Miniſtry from the Biſhops, yet they received it from them as Elders, and not as they were Lord Biſhops.*

Anſw. If the Biſhops be lawfull Elders, they muſt be Elders choſen by a true Church, which is a Congregation conſtituted of Beleevers and Saints by calling, *Act.* 2. 41. 1 *Cor.* 1. 2. *Phil.* 1. 7. *Rom.* 1. 7. 8. As the nineteenth Article of the doctrine of the Church of *England* doth alſo witnes, which ſaith, *The viſible Church of Chriſt, is a Congregation of faithfull men &c.* now let them ſhew where or when ſuch a Church, made either the Biſhops or any of our Prieſts, to be Miniſters or Elders by Election, as the Scriptures doth teſtifie to be done, in every Church, *Act.* 14. 23. And as the entrance of all ordinary Offices (of which we ſpeake) of neceſſitie preſuppoſeth a Church, by whoſe election they are to enter, ſo their continuance requireth a Church, wherin as in a Subject they are to ſubſiſt, and to which they muſt miniſter: but the unlawfulneſſe of the calling of the Miniſtry of the Church of *England* in all theſe reſpects, is acknowledged by many of themſelves, who have therefore forſaken and caſt off their miniſtry, there received of the Biſhops, and departed the land, and became as Lay-men, untill they were authorized a new by the Election and appointment of ſuch a Congregation, as they conceived to be a true

Church: And theſe were no whit inferior (but for moſt-part did farre exceed) any of their fellowes, which they left behind them, either in learning, wiſdome, or godlineſſe, or in any other parts or guifts: Nor did theſe men judge that inward qualifications make a Miniſter, (as ſome vainely imagine) but only makes him fit to be choſen into Office by the Church; for if gifts or qualifications were a call to the Miniſtry, then ſhould Judges, Counſellors, Lawyers, and others in the Land, be reputed to be Miniſters, becauſe many of theſe have abilities, to be Miniſters, yet not called of God to be Miniſters, no more then an able Citizen, is called to be the Major of the Citie, by his abilities without his being lawfully choſen, and placed into that Office by the Citizens, and therefore qualification is no ſuch inward call of God, as is dreamt of; for the call and choice of the Church of *Chriſt*, by the authority given unto it by *Chriſt*, is now the only ordinary true call of God to this Office and Miniſtry, and yet not debarring the exerciſe of any other mans gifts, either within or without the Church.

Obiect. But ſome may object, *That ſurely theſe Miniſters iſſued not from the Biſhops: for if they did, then would they plead for their authority, and not againſt it, as moſt of our good Miniſters now doe.*

Anſw. Surely theſe iſſued from the Biſhops; for if they did not, then would they have pleaded againſt their authority, and not for it, as moſt of our good Miniſters did but two yeares agone? and therefore ſeeing that their authority was unlawfull then as now, and theſe Miniſters the very ſame men, and as learned, wiſe and Godly then as now, and the Goſpell the ſame eternall and unchangeable Truth, then as now, whence then cometh this great change in theſe great Clerks, but only from the change of the times, as the reaſonable motion doth informe us; wherefore it is moſt reaſonable for all men to be no longer deluded, by relying and tying their Faith upon the judgements of theſe or any other men in the world, nor upon ought elſe, ſave only upon the naked truth of Gods word, ſeene and apprehended by their

their own eyes, and judgements, and not by others, nor to follow any man, not *Paul* himselfe, any further then they or he follow *Christ*, but to accompt all the holiest men upon earth, & holyest Angels in heaven to be accursed, if they teach any thing to be beleeved or practised in the worship of God, but that which may clearely be proved by the word of God; or if they go about to detain thē in any false way of worship, or debar them from trying all things, conducing to their finding out of the truth, or enjoying the just liberty, purchased them by *Iesus Christ*, 1 *Cor.*7.23. 1 *Pet.*1.18. *Gala.*5.1.

If it be objected, *that they being no Masse-Priests are not Antichristian:* *Object.*

I answer, they have the same Office as Masse-priests, though reformed in many things; and this both the doctrine and practise of the *Church* of *England*, pleading for succession from *Rome*, (as the Booke of *Ordination and place*, formerly quoted, doth evidently confirme). All the Masse-priests in Queene *Maries* dayes, for that purpose, were upon their submitting to the *Service booke*, continued Ministers in their severall Congregations in Queene *Elizabeths* dayes, by vertue of their former Ordination, and so are such Masse-priests at this day, although Ordained at *Rome*, received and continued in the *Church* of *England* upon the aforesaid conditions, without any new Ordination. And seeing it is their own constant affirmation, that Ordination (as they terme it) makes a Minister, it must follow, that no new Ordination, no new Minister; but they remaine still the old Masse-priests, only reformed from that kinde of Massing, and therefore Antichristian. *Answ.*

But all are not so made Ministers, because some are chosen by the parish Assemblies. *Object.*

1. There be very few so chosen. *Answ.*

2. The Parish Assemblies are not such *Churches* to whom the power of *Christ* is committed, *Acts* 2. 41. 44. 47. 1 *Cor.* 1. 2, *Rom.* 1. 7, 8. *Philip.* 1. 7.

3. These are Ministers before the choyce, and after their leaving the Parish, nor can the Parish choose any, but such

as

as are Miniſters ordained by the Biſhops, and are not therefore made Miniſters by their choyce.

Object. *But theſe ſeeke that all Epiſcopall power and Antichriſtian Lording it over the Faith and conſciences of any might be utterly taken away & that none other of like natur might be ſet up to compell men to any forme of worſhip preſcribed by the vaynable Lawes and precepts of men, but that the juſt liberty of conſcience herein, might be enjoyed, and that the ſole authority and infallible rule of Ieſus Chriſt, already ſet up, and eſtabliſhed by his own blood might take place.*

Anſw. That this is their intentions, is too good to be true, and too true I feare to be thought good by them: But is not this rather their aymes, they having bin long kept in ſervitude and bondage under their Fathers, and now deſiring a freedome, would only (like undutifull Sonnes) be rid of their Fathers, that they might divide the Inheritance and dominion amongſt themſelves, and to ſet out the ſame power in nature, only in another edition and character.

Object. *But ought not we, being Lay-men and unlearned, beleeve our learned and Godly Divines, and relie upon their judgements in divine matters and worſhip, before our own private opinions?*

Anſ. We are herein neither to relie upon our own private opinions, nor upon the judgements of all the moſt Godly men in the world, no not though they ſhould all concurre in one, but only upon Gods word alone: and this I will prove firſt by Scripture, ſecondly, by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, Thirdly, by reaſon.

Firſt by Scripture, we are not to relie upon men for our bodily, much leſſe for our ſpirituall ſafety; he is pronounced bleſſed that truſteth only in God, *Ier.* 17. 5. and curſed, that puts truſt in man, *ver.* 7. It is the Saints practiſe and duty, to truſt only in God, *Pſal.* 62. 7, 8. we are commanded to beleeve God, and blamed if we do not, *Joh.* 4. 21. & 8. 45, 46. And in reſpect of divine matters, no man upon Earth is to be called Father Maſter or Doctor, but Chriſt only, and our Father which is in Heaven, *Mat.* 23, 8, 9, 10.

Herein

Herein are we not to be ſervants to any man, or men; *Cor.* 7. 23. but to ſerve God only, *Mat.* 4. 10. And herein are we not to feare any man, no not the wrath of Princes, *Mat.* 10. 28. *Heb.* 11. 26, 27. *Dan.* 3. 16, 17, 18.

Secondly, by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, who will not aſſume any ſuch authority over the faith of any man, as to tie him to beleeve or practiſe any thing in Religion, upon her credit, or upon the credit of any man or men in the world, in aſmuch as ſhe hath declared expreſſely in the 21 Article of her Doctrine. That generall Counſells (even theſe) in things ordained by them, as neceſſary to ſalvation, have neither ſtrength nor authority, unleſſe it may be declared that they be taken out of the Scripture. Now then if no generall Counſell (which is accounted to repreſent the whole Church upon earth) hath any ſuch power, then no Nationall *Synod*, of what ſort ſoever, hath any ſuch power: and if neither of theſe, then much leſſe a Covocation of Prieſts hath any, ſeeing our late experience yet prompts us of a monſtrous iſſue, produced by that Generation, ſoil favoured and unſevoury, that the corruption ther-of might ſoone have poyſoned our whole Land, if by the mercy of our good God, the wiſdome of our State had not ſoone ſtrangled that birth. 2.

Object. But a Nationall Synod might be choſen of learned godly Divines that may do better, and preſcribe ſuch a forme of worſhip ſo agreeable to Gods word, that no mans conſcience may be offended.

Anſw. They can no more do this, then make one laaſt ſerve every mans foote; beſides, God only can and already hath preſcribed rules in his word for his own worſhip, ſo abſolute and perfect, that none may adde or diminiſh, or vary from it in the leaſt, without incurring eternall Plagues, & bringing down judgements upon themſelves, *Deut.* 4. 2. 12. 32. *Joſh.* 1. 7. 8. *Pro.* 30. 5, 6. *Rev.* 22. 18, 19. *Gal.* 3. 15.

Firſt, Becauſe all men, knowing but in part, have erred, may erre; and the reaſon is further rendred in the 21 Article 3 *by Reaſo.*

ticle of the Church of *England*, which ſaith even of generall Councells thus, *That foraſmuch as they be an Aſſembly of men whereof all are not governed by the Spirit and word of God, they may erre, and have erred even in things appertayning to God.*

Reaſon 2. Becauſe we can be ſaved only by our own Faith, and that grounded upon the word and truth of God alone, apprehended and ſeene by our own judgements, and not by any others, nor built upon the Teſtimony of any man or men, for all ſuch can produce (no divine) but a humane Faith, and which like the houſe built upon the Sands, *Matth.* 7. 26, 27. will at laſt utterly faile us.

Object. *All this, theſe men know to be true, and therefore it cannot be thought, that they ſeeke to have any ſuch unlawfull power, or having it would uſe it ſo unlawfully, as to compell any in matters of Faith or worſhip, knowing what the Spirit of God ſaith, That* the ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle towards all men, apt to teach, patient in meekneſſe, inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if God at any time will give them repentance. That they might acknowledge the truth. 2 *Tim.* 2. 24, 25, 26.

Anſw. That theſe men will prove perſecutors, as I will not accuſe them all, ſo yet conceiving that no unlawfull power can ſupport it ſelfe, but by unlawfull meanes, I cannot but ſuſpect the beſt of them in this caſe, eſpecially diſcerning the malignant Spirits of ſome already this way breaking out like little ſparks from a great flame, againſt ſuch as concurre not in judgement with them, as is evident by their revilings both in Pulpits and private, for the attaining of which raylling Rhetorick, they needed not to have ſpent much time in the Vniverſities, ſeeing herein they might become ſufficient Graduates, by converſing but a while at *Billings-gate* amongſt the eloquent *Oyſter-women* there, to whom for anſwere to all ſuch their Arguments, I wholly referre them. And alſo diſcerning their murmurings and complaints againſt ſome, for their exerciſing among themſelves, edifying one another out of Gods word, according both to their liberties and duties, they being but Lay-men (as they call them)

them) and without orders, as if they feared leaſt truth ſhould too ſoone breake forth and ſhake their buildings in the very Foundation therof; and as if they thought the Spirit of God was only at a Biſhops diſpoſe, to blow when, where, and upon whom he pleaſed to breath his Holy Ghoſt: and hence hope they, that ſome fiery Law will ſpeedily come down from the heavens and *Hemiſphere* of our terrene Gods at once to devour all theſe their adverſaries, not conſidering of what ſpirit they are, ſo different from that in *Moſes*, which wiſhed, that *all the Lords people were Prophets, and that the Lord would put his ſpirit upon them*, Numb. 11. 49. And ſo quite contrary to that ſweet and bleſſed Spirit of Chriſt which breathes in the Scriptures, and which there alſo tells us of an Antichriſtian Spirit, that ſhould both raign and rage in the world, make warre with the Saints, and prevaile againſt them, yea to the overcoming and killing of them: And wherefore is all this? only for not conforming themſelves to a worſhip, meerely ſet up by the wills and traditions of men, *Rev.* 13. 4. to the 16. *Dan.* 7. 21, 25.

And now leaſt I ſhould be thought to ſhoote at Rovers, I will inſtance in one particular and late carriage of a learned Divine (as they would be ſtiled) in the *Weſt*, who frequenting the company of ſtrangers part of three daies together, under pretence of unfained love and friendſhip, and then and there reaſoning with them upon certaine points of Religion, wherein they and he differed in judgement, did afterward take leave of them, and pretended to be ſorry he could ſtay no longer with them, and immediatly haſted and raiſed moſt foule and falſe accuſations againſt them, as being *Blaſphemers*, *Hereticks*, and what not? and did in fine procure them to be apprehended by Conſtables, and brought publiquely like Thiefe's before the civill Magiſtrate, and this Prieſt being there ready on the bench, as if he would be both accuſer and judge, lay's theſe his falſe accuſations againſt them; all which not taking ſuch effect as he deſired, he then inſtigated the Magiſtrate (after their

Behold here a true Sonne of a Butcher. a Bonner. a Biſhop. Iob. S. 40. 44.

 taking

taking the oath of Allegiance) to put them also to the Oath of Supremacy, which the Magistrate (contrary to Law, meerly to satisfie the will and pleasure of this Priest) did, which oath they scrupling to take, desired some time to consider of: that (as duty bindes them) they might give to *Cesar the things which are Cesars, and to God the things which are Gods*: whereupon being committed, and to be carried to to the Jayle, they were constrained with sureties to be bound over, and are yet to be prosecuted accordingly.

Now faine would I know, whether this be any meet Spirituall weapon for this Spirituall mans use, to convert men by, and whether this Sword was ever intended to lie ready in the Magistrates hands, to be drawne forth and be disposed of by such a Scholastick *Ignoramus*, in defect of better Arguments to confute his opposites by, and therewith to kill and Skinne them, and all for not subjecting their judgements to his, in some doctrines vainely received and taught by him, from the vaine traditions of men, and in particular, for their not granting with him, *that the God head of Christ was begotten*; which for any to affirme, (as I conceive) is no lesse then grosse Blasphemie, inasmuch as thereby he denieth the Lord Jesus Christ to be verie true God. And is not here extreme ignorance and malice manifestly striving to exceed each other in this Priest. And as if all this were not enough, he, with the rest of his fellow Ministers there, to quit their standings, (the lawfulnesse whereof being justly questioned) doe neither spare, pittifully to abuse Scripture, nor yet cease unchristianlike, upon all occasions, to callumniate, and publiquely to vent, most false aspersions against them, and that also with such violence and rage, which would much better beseeme Beares robbed of their whelps, then reasonable creatures; and all this to uphold the great honour and authority which they have unduly got amongst many; by all which it evidently appeares, what must be looked for at their hands, if once their Presbyterian Tribunall were erected: But leaving these to be accounted with by God and their own conscience,

ence, I will now proceed.

Fourthly, The ground from which Baptiſme is there adminiſtred, is the Repentance and Faith of the ſureties, as is evident alſo by the *Catechiſme*, where theſe Queſtions and Anſweres be made.

Queſt. *What is required of perſons to be Baptized?*

Anſw. Repentance, whereby they forſake ſiene; and Faith, whereby they ſtedfaſtly beleeve the promiſes of God made to them in that Sacrament.

Queſt. *Why then are Infants Baptized, when by reaſon of their tender age they cannot performe them.*

Anſw. Yes they doe performe them by their ſureties, *&c.* And like hereunto in the adminiſtration of *Baptiſme*, theſe Queſtions are demanded of the Sureties.

1. *Doſt thou forſake the Divell and all his works?* &c.
2. *Doſt thou beleeve in God?* &c.
3. *Wilt thou be Baptized in this Faith?*

To which three queſtions, each of the Sureties in particular make anſwere in the ſingular number, perſonating the Child to be Baptized, and then they Baptize the Child.

Now firſt to affirme, that Faith and Repentance is required of perſons to be Baptized, and then contratriwiſe to affirme, *that Children deſtitute of Faith and Repentance, may be Baptized upon the Faith and Repentance of others*, is a flat contradiction, and the latter affirmation is all one, as if they ſhould ſay, *that a perſon deſtitute of Faith, may be ſaved by the Faith of another*, for that which gives any man a right admiſſion to the Baptiſme of Chriſt, gives him admiſſion into life eternall, and glory. and therefore if Children may be Baptized upon the repentance and Faith of others, they may alſo be ſaved by the Faith and Repentance of others. *If thou beleeveſt with all thy heart, thou maiſt be Baptized*, Act. 8.37. *He that beleeveth and is Baptized, ſhall be ſaved*, Mar. 16.16. Therefore this Doctrine being directly repugnant to the Scriptures, muſt be rejected, as impious. *Ezek.* 18.20. *The ſame ſoule that ſinneth ſhall die.* Hab. 2. 4. *The juſt by his faith (and not by the faith of others) ſhall live.* Gal. 6. 4. 5. *Let*

every man prove his own worke, and then ſhall he have rejoycing in himſelfe alone, and not in another, for every man ſhall beare his own burthen.

5. Fiftly, The Subjects on which Baptiſme is there adminiſtred, are Infants, whereas the Scripture holds forth, that Diſciples (or Beleevers) only are to be Baptized.

For the Commiſſion of Chriſt was to Baptize only Diſciples, as appeares *Mat.* 28. 19. The words being theſe, *Porenthentes oun mathetenſate panta ta ethne Baptizantes autous*, &c. The Engliſh of which is, Goeing therefore Diſciple yee all Nations, Baptizing them: Now the queſtion is, what this word (*Autous*) them, hath relation to, whether to (*Ethne*) Nations or no, but it is cleare out of the words, that it hath not relation to Nations, but to Diſciples, for the word which is put for *them* in that place, is *Autous* and not *Anta*, which it ſhould be, if it had relation to Nations.

Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητέυσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτὸς, &c.
αὐτὰς not αὐτὸς.

Therefore out of this place we finde, that Chriſt gave command to the Diſciples, to Diſciple the Nations, or to teach the Nations, that they might become Diſciples, and then to Baptize them, but not to Baptize the Nations, or any perſons therein, before they were made Diſciples. And to this agreeth the very practiſe of Chriſt himſelf and his Diſciples, for *Ioh.* 3. 22. we read, that *Ieſus and his Diſciples came into the Land of* Judea, *and tarried there, and Baptized.* And who they were that they there *Baptized*, we may ſee in the very next Ch. 1. 2. *ver.* where it is ſaid, *that Jeſus made and Baptized more Diſciples then* John, *though* Jeſus *himſelfe Baptized them not, but his Diſciples Baptized them*, (to wit) the Diſciples or they whom they had by teaching made Diſciples, and what it is to be a Diſciple may be plainely ſeen in *Ioh.* 8. 31. *Luk.* 14. 16. 27, 33.

And this truth is further evidenced from many other Texts, as *Mar.* 16. 15, 16. where Chriſt ſaith to his Diſciples, *Goe into all the world, preach the Goſpell to every creature; he that beleeveth and is Baptized, ſhall be ſaved:* and accordingly, in *Act.* 2. 38. *Peter* ſaith, (even to the Jewes and

and children of Abraham, *Repent and be Baptized every one of you*: (that is) Repent every one of you: *and then be Baptized every one of you.* And afterwards *verſe* 41. it is ſaid, *that as many of them as gladly received the word,* (that is) beleeved, *were Baptized*, and the ſame day there were added of them to the Church, about 3000 ſoules, And in *ver.* 44. it is ſaid, *that all that beleeved were together*: And in *Act.* 8. 37. The Eunuch coming to a certaine water, and demanding of *Philip*, *what did hinder him that he might not be Baptized?* was anſwered, *if thou beleeveſt with all thy heart thou maieſt*: which implieth, that unleſſe he beleeved, he might not be Baptized.

And with all this agreeth that in the Service-booke, before recited, *That Faith and repentance is required of all perſons to be Baptized.*

Now then foraſmuch as Infants cannot have either Faith or Repentance, which is required by the Lord, of all perſons to be Baptized, as is manifeſtly proved by the Scriptures, and alſo granted by the pleaders for the *Baptiſme* of Infants, in the Catechiſme afore recited: It muſt needs be concluded that Infants are no meet Subjects of *Baptiſme*, and ſo by conſequence it muſt needs follow, that the *Baptiſme* of Infants is none of the Lords *Baptiſme.*

Object. *But yet after all this, if any ſhall be ſo ignorant as to object, that the Profeſſion of Faith and Repentance made by the Sureties, may give the Infants right to Baptiſme.*

Anſw. I ſhall anſwere them, That if the profeſſion of Faith and Repentance of the Sureties, can give them a right admiſſion unto *Baptiſme*, then alſo may it give them admiſſion to eternall life, as they ignorantly in the Catechiſme pretend it doth; for to the queſtion, *Who gave you this name?* The Children are taught to ſay, *My Godfathers and Godmothers in my Baptiſme, wherein I was made a member of Chriſt, a Child of God, and an Inheritor of the Kingdome of Heaven*, but Scripture cited in the former point declares the contrary.

Object. *But they will ſay, That the Sureties promiſe, that the Infants ſhall beleeve and repent, and forſake the Divell and all.*

all his works, ſo ſoone as they come to yeares of diſcretion, Ergo, &c.

Anſw. To this I anſwere, that this is monſtrous and to be abhorred, for it is no leſſe then to cauſe men to aſſume and arrogate to themſelves, the Prerogative of the moſt high, who is the author and finiſher of Faith, the giver of every ſpirituall gift and ability, by whom we overcome Satan and all his power, and this he giveth to whom hee liſteth, *Ioh.* 3. 8. Seeing then that Faith and Repentance is only from him, and given to, or wrought in whom he liſteth, how dare any to be ſo preſumptuous, as to cauſe any to promiſe that another ſhall beleeve or repent or forſake the Divell and all his works, dare they preſume to cauſe any to undertake that which appertaineth only to the Lord? this arguеth therefore great impiouſneſſe, for they by this, either would beare the world in hand, that men can worke Faith and Repentance when and in whom they pleaſe; or elſe that they have the Lord at their beck to performe their wills, or laſt of all, which I rather thinke, that they cauſe that to be promiſed which they regard not, whether ever it be performed or no, for this cauſe let them read *Eccles.* 5. 4. 5.

Thus having brought the point to this iſſue, I ſhall now proceed no further therein, having ſaid ſufficient to diſcover the groſſeneſſe of this their only and laſt ſhift: and if any ſhall yet affirme, that the Faith and Repentance of others, may give Infants, (which have none of their own) right to *Baptiſme*, they muſt be ſuch, who by their arts and ſophiſtries, can elude any truth, and colourably juſtifie any Error, though never ſo groſſe and abſurd, ſuch as this of regenerating Infants by *Baptiſme*, grounded upon the Faith and Repentance of ſureties, is, which though they teach others thus to beleeve, I cannot judge them to be ſo ignorant as to beleeve it themſelves, for if they did, then muſt I needs admire their great uncharitableneſſe, and the uncharitableneſſe of all Chriſtendome (as they call it) this 1600 yeares in that they have not in all this time ſent two beleeving men

and

and two beleeving women with a Miniſter or Prieſt into all the Heathen and Pagan Countries in the world, to Baptize and Regenerate their Children.

Object. If it be objected, *That the Parents being Pagans will not ſuffer them to Baptize their children!*

Anſw. I anſwere, though ſome would not, yet in all likelyhood many would.

Secondly, By their converſe there, in a ſmall time they (no doubt) might have opportunity to Baptize their Children without the privity of the Parents.

Object. *Although this might be done, yet afterwards, if Chriſtians have not the bringing up of ſuch Children, this labor would be loſt.*

Anſ. Not ſo, ſeeing they are thereby Regenerate, made the members of *Chriſt*, the children of God, and the Inheritors of the Kingdome of Heaven: And ſhall any be ſo wicked as to thinke, that Chriſt would want meanes to ſave his own members, or that God would not finde out meanes to ſave his own Children, God forbid!

Now then to conclude all, ſeeing the Baptiſme whereof we treate, is adminiſtred to a falſe end, in a falſe manner, by a falſe power, from a falſe ground, and upon a falſe ſubject, as hath bin proved; then the Baptiſme it ſelfe muſt likewiſe be falſe and unlawfull.

Again, for the lawfull adminiſtration of every Ordinance of God, there muſt be ſome inſtitution of God to warrant the ſame, but there is no inſtitution of God to warrant the adminiſtration of Baptiſme upon Infants, therefore the adminiſtration of Baptiſme upon Infants is unlawfull.

And againe, that adminiſtration of Baptiſme, which hath no expreſſe command in Scripture and which overthrowes or prevents that adminiſtration of Baptiſme which is expreſſely commanded in Scripture, is a meer deviſe of mans braine, and no *Baptiſme* of Chriſt: but the adminiſtration of *Baptiſme* upon Infants hath no expreſſe command in Scripture, and yet it overthrowes or prevents the adminiſtration of *Baptiſme* upon Diſciples (or beleevers) which

is expreſſly commanded in Scripture, *Matth.* 28. 19. *Mar.* 16. 16. *Joh.* 4. 1, 2. *Act.* 2. 38. & 8. 37. Therefore the Adminiſtration of *Baptiſme* upon Infants, is a meere device of mans braine, and no ordinance of Chriſt.

Object. If they here object, *that they hold and maintaine both the Baptiſme of Beleevers and the Baptiſme of Infants alſo, as in the* 27 Article *of the Doctrine of the Church of* England *is expreſſed, and therefore deny that their Baptizing of Infants doth prevent the Baptiſme of beleevers, for if any Pagan Turke or Heathen be converted to the faith, they allow them Baptiſme.*

Anſw. I anſwere, firſt that it is affirmed by the Spirit of God, that there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptiſme, *Eph.* 4. 5. Now if there be but one *Baptiſme*, then either the baptiſme of beleevers, or the baptiſme of Infants, deſtitute of faith, muſt needs be that one true baptiſme, and not both: for to affirme, that both is that one true baptiſme, is a flat contradiction.

Secondly, the baptiſme of Infants, as it is by authority ordained in this Kingdome, doth thus farre prevent the baptizing of beleevers, that hereby no native can be baptized upon faith, ſeeing all are to be baptized in their Infancy, when they are deſtitute of faith: wherefore if all other Kingdomes and Nations did the ſame, then the commandement of Chriſt, for the baptiſme of Diſciples (or beleevers) would be quite prevented and deſtroyed out of the whole world, as well as it is out of this Kingdome.

And therefore notwithſtanding this objection, it is apparent, that herein they have (at leaſt ſo far as in them lies) like the Scribes and Phariſees, *Mat.* 15. 6. made the commandement of Chriſt of none effect by their owne traditions.

And if any ſhall here object and ſay, the diſcovering of the evill of this forme of baptizing is needleſſe, ſeeing divers perſons ſee it already to be ſo frivolous and naught, that they much diſlike it, and will not have their children baptized with Godfathers, but upon other grounds, namely, from

from the Covenant made with beleevers and their children, upon which ground alſo, they of the Separation uſe to baptize their children, wherefore their arguments ſhould have bin likewiſe anſwered.

To which I anſwere.

1 Although ſome few ſee this forme of baptiſme to be ſinfull and naught, yet what is this to the reſt of the whole Nation, who yet make conſcience of that Idole to this day?

2. Although they of the Separation and ſome others, do mend the matter (as they thinke) in the baptizing of their Children otherwiſe, and upon other grounds, yet what is all this to their own baptiſme, being naught by their own confeſſion; and anullitie alſo, even from their own grounds: for they grant, that no children ſave only beleevers Children, are in the Covenant, or have right to baptiſme; then moſt of themſelves had no right to baptiſme, their Parents (by their own acknowledgement) being ungodly: whence it will follow, that they themſelves being baptized in their Infancy, had not the baptiſme of Chriſt, and ſo by conſequence are yet unbaptized perſons: thus is their own baptiſme clearely made voyd, even from their own grounds, and how then can their children be now baptiſed in the right of ſuch Parents, who are yet unbaptiſed themſelves?

But the grounds which SEPARATISTS and others do urge for the baptiſing of INFANTS, ſhall be further examined and anſwered (if God will) in another Treatiſe.

And if any ſhall thinke it ſtrange and unlikely, that all the godlieſt Divines and beſt Churches, ſhould be thus deceived in this point of baptiſme, for ſo many yeares together:

Let them conſider that all Chriſtendome (except here and there one, or ſome few, or no conſiderable number) was ſwallowed up in groſſe Popery for many hundred yeares before *Luthers* time, which was not untill about 100 yeares agone.

Let them alſo conſider how long the whole nations of

England and *Scotland* have bin deceived in the point of the Hierarchy untill of late, and yet they now for the most part do see it to be Antichristian and abominable, and why may they not likewise be deceived in this point of the *Baptisme* of Infants, especially seeing that the Hierarchy hath as much warrant from Scripture as this, and the *Baptisme* of Infants as little as that?

Episc. Jure divino. par. 2. p. 127.

Yea and much lesse in the judgement of *Bishop Hall*, who in this point expresses himselfe in these words, (viz.) *I am for my part so confident of the Divine Institution of the Majority of Bishops above Presbyters, that I dare boldly say, that there are waighty points of faith which have not so strong evidence in holy Scripture.* (and then he instanceth in two particulars) *The power by Sacred orders given to the Ministers alone for the Consecration and distribution of the holy Eucharist, and the receiving of Infants to holy Baptisme, which* (saith he) *is a matter of so high consequence, that we justly brand the* Catabaptists *with Heresie for denying it, yet let me with good assurance say, that the evidences of this truth come farre short of that which the Scriptures have afforded us for the superiority of some Church Governors over those who otherwise indeed, in a sole respect of their Ministeriall Function, are equall*; and then he shuts up the point in these very words, (viz.) *He therefore that would upon pretence of want of Scriptures quarrell at the Divine institution of Bishops, might with much better colour cavell at these blessed Ordinances of God.*

Answ. to Smectymnuus, pa. 98.

And after in an other booke he challengeth his opposites to try their skill by entring into a serious contestation with him, to see if they could produce more clearer evidence from Scripture for the *Baptising* of Infants, then he could for the Hierarchie; which challenge of his may easily be maintained, for indeed and in truth the Scripture ownes neither of them.

And as one of note not long since in defence of the Hierarchy, &c. alledging altogether humane authority, and being urged by me either to make good his position by Scripture or else to say nothing, he replyed to me thus, If you will believe

leeve nothing in Religion but what may be proved by Scripture, then muſt you renounce your Chriſtendome, and turne Turke, for you cannot prove your own Baptiſme, nor the baptiſme of Infants by Scripture, wherein the man ſpake nothing but reaſon, for if I will beleeve one point in Divinity upon the authority of men, or tradition of the Church, why not another, and another, and ſo to multiply them beyond number upon one and the ſame reaſon and authority.

3. And let them likewiſe conſider, that there is no marvaile at all in this, ſeeing there is nothing, nor more herein then was foretold by the Spirit of God, ſhould come to paſſe in the world (*viz.*) That men ſhould depart from the Faith, and give heed to the Spirit of error. 2 *Theſſa.* 2. 3. 1 *Tim.* 4. 1. That all the world ſhould wonder, follow after, and worſhip the Beaſt, *Rev.* 13. 3. 4. 15, 16. And that the Inhabitants of the earth ſhould be made drunke with the wine of the fornication of the whore, *Rev.* 17. 2. And in no place it is told us of any one Nation that ſhould cleave to the truth, before the calling of the *Iewes*, but that untill then, this only was, and is to be looked for, that all that will live Godly in Jeſus Chriſt, muſt ſuffer perſecution, 2 *Tim.* 3. 12. be brought before Kings and Rulers, yea to the loſſe of their liberties and lives for his cauſe and truth, *Mat.* 10. 17, 18. & 24. 9. And that all the riſe of all our glory and happineſſe in the world to come, is from our being made conformable to him in his death and ſufferings in this world, *Mat.* 5. 11, 12. *Lu.* 6. 22, 23. *Phil.* 3. 10. 2 *Tim.* 2. 12.

And if any ſhall thinke, that any of the Expreſſions concerning the Miniſtry in this Treatiſe, be too harſh, ſeeing many in that Office are Godly and worthy men:

1. Let them know, that I eſteeme not leſſe of divers of them, their worth and honeſty, being well known to me; yet nevertheleſſe, the Office and miniſtry which theſe men have, is no whit the truer for their worth or honeſty, for the honeſty of a man in a falſe Office cannot make the Office any truer or lawfuller then it is in it ſelfe.

2. Let them alſo conſider, that I ſpeake not againſt any goodneſſe in any man, but againſt the evill, and againſt the unlawfulneſſe of the Office wherein he is; for this being derived from one and the ſame power, in one and the ſame manner, to one and the ſame end unto them all, muſt needs be one and the ſame Office, and no better or lawfuller then the power from whence it is derived, for no man can convey unto another, any better or truer right or power then he hath in himſelfe: beſides, if I ſhould ſpeake evill of the vertues of any man in that Office, for that Office ſake, I ſhould then be as fooliſhly ignorant, and as liable to the curſe of God, as he is that ſpeakes good of that Office being evill, for the goodneſſe or ſake of the man in that office, for both theſe are abhominable and alike accurſed in the ſight of God, *Iſa.* 5. 12.

3. Let them likewiſe conſider, that if the Godlieſt and beſt Miniſter upon Earth were made Arch-*Biſhop* of *Canterbury* or *Yorke*, yet that Office would ſtill be the ſame, and as bad as before, and in ſome reſpects far worſe, then if a worſe man had it, for an evill Office gets credit by the goodneſſe of the man in it, and thereby deceives and keepes the people in blindneſſe and error the more, and puts them the further off from ſeeing their ſinfulneſſe in ſubmitting to it. And hence is the proverbe verified, (*viz.*) *The better the man, the worſe the Biſhop*: the very ſame is the caſe of the Miniſtry and Prieſthood here treated of.

Jer. 23 11. *Both Prophet and Prieſt do wickedly: yea, in my Houſe have I found their wickedneſſe, ſaith the Lord.*

Jer. 5. 31. *The Prophets prophecy lies, and the Prieſts beare rule by their meanes, and my people love to have it ſo.*

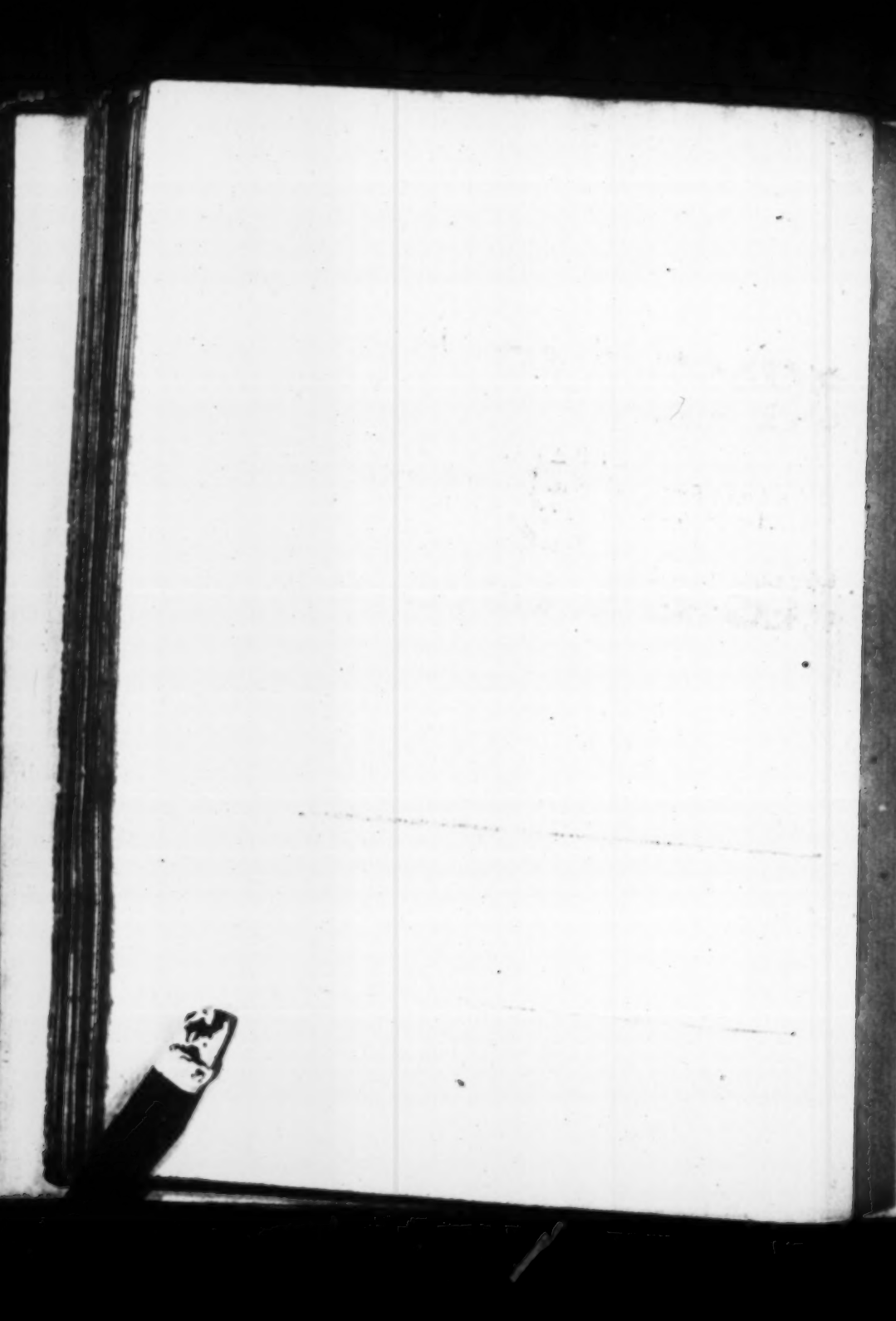
2 Theſſ 2. 11. 12. *Wherefore God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould beleeve lies, that they all might be damned who beleeve not the truth.*

FINIS.

ERRATA

ERRATA.

PAg 8. *line* 23, for *apecteathesan* read *apectanthesan*, and for *romiraja*, read *romphaja*. and *line* 35. *for ebaaptisthe*, read *ebaptisthe*.



England Parliament

5.

A

DECLARATION

OF THE SEVERALL

Votes and Reſolutions

Agreed upon by both Houſes of *PARLIAMENT.*

Beeing in all 32.

For the ſafety of His Maieſties perſon, the defence of the Kingdome, and the ſecurity of both Houſes of *Parliament*, and the Priviledges thereof.

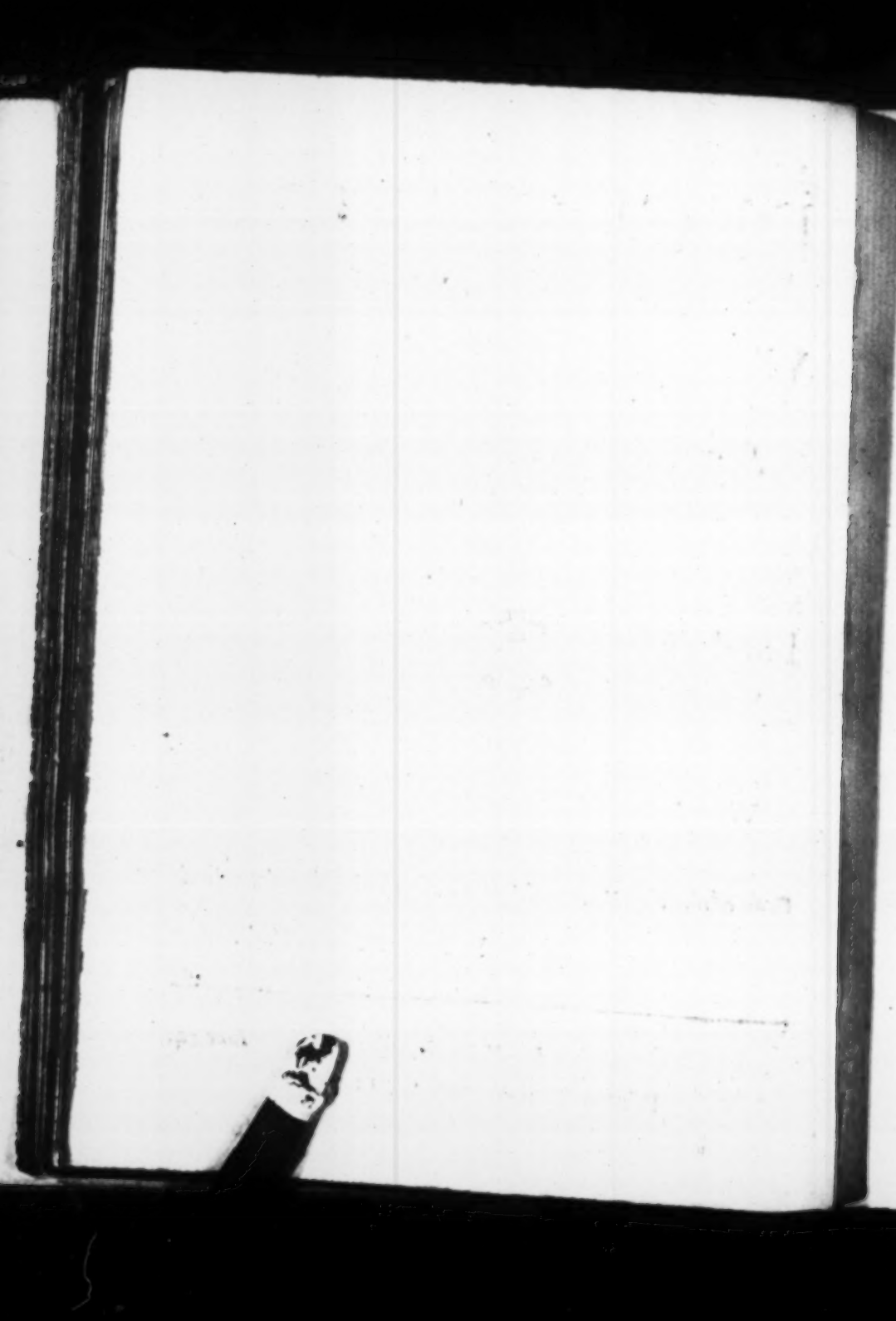
Whereunto is Annexed the Votes, at which His Maieſtie takes exceptions at.

Ordered that theſe Votes and Reſolutions be Printed and Publiſhed.

Io. Brown Cleric. Parli.

LONDON, *June* 14.

Printed for *John Thomas.* 1642.



Queſtions Reſolutions and Votes by both Houſes of *Parliament*, touching the Militia.

1. THat His Maieſties Anſwer is denyall to the deſires of both Houſes of Parliament, concerning the *Militia*.

2. That thoſe that adviſed His Maieſtie to give this Anſwer are Enemies to the State, and miſchievous proiectors againſt the defence of the Kingdome.

3. That this deniall is of that dangerous conſequence, that if His Maieſtie ſhall perſiſt in it, it will hazard the Peace and ſafety of all His Kingdomes, unleſſe ſome ſpeedy remedy be applyed by the wiſedome and Authority of both Houſes of Parliament.

4. That ſuch Parts of this Kingdome as have put themſelves into a poſture of defence againſt, the Common danger, hath done nothing but what is Juſtifiable, and is approved by the Houſe.

5. That his Maieſty removing into any remote parts from His Parliament, will bee a great hazard to the Kingdome; and a great preiudice to the proceedings of Parliament.

6. That theſe Houſes hold it neceſſary, that His Maieſty may be deſired, that the Prince may come unto Saint *Iamſes*, or to ſome other convenient place neereabout *London*, and there to continue.

7. That the Lords bee deſired to ioyne with this

houſe in an humble requeſt unto His Maieſtie, that he will be pleaſed to reſide neare His Parliament, that both Houſes may have a convenience of Acceſſe unto him upon all occaſions.

8 That the Lords bee moved to ioyne with this Houſe in ſome fit courſe of examination, to find who were the perſons that gave His Maieſty this advice, that they be removed from His Maieſty this advice, that they be removed from His Maieſty, and brought to condigne puniſhment.

9. That no Charter can be granted by the King, to create a power in any corporation over the *Militia* of that place, without conſent of Parliament.

10. That the Lords be moved to ioyne with this Houſe in *theſe* votes.

11. That the Lords ſhall be deſired to appoint a ſelect Committee, that may ioyn with a Committee of a proportionable number of this Houſe, to conſider and prepare what is fit to bee done upon theſe votes, or upon any thing elſe that may ariſe upon this Anſwer of His Maieſty concerning the *Militia*, and concerning the Prince.

12. That the Kingdome be forthwith put into a poſture of defence by Authority of both Houſes, in ſuch a way as is already agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament.

13. That the Lords be deſired to ioyne with the Houſe of Commons in this vote.

14. That a Committee ſhall be appointed to prepare a Declaration upon theſe two heads. *viz.*

1. To lay downe the iuſt cauſes of the feares and iealouſies given to theſe Houſes: and to cleare theſe Houſes from any iealouſies conceived againſt them.

2. And

2. And to conſider of all matters that may ariſe upon this meſſage of His Maieſty, and to declare their opinions what is fit to be done thereupon.

15. That Sir *Iohn Hotham* Knight according to this relation, hath done nothing but in obedience to the Command of both Houſes of Parliament.

16. That this declaring of Sir *Iohn Hotham* Traytour, being a Member of the Houſe of Commons, is a high breach of the priviledge of Parliament.

17. That this declaring of Sir *Iohn Hotham* Traitour, without due proceſſe of Law is againſt the liberty of the Subject, and againſt the Law of the Land.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that theſe votes ſhall be printed, and ſent to the ſheriffes and the Iuſtices of the Peace, to be publiſhed in all Market Townes of the Counties of Yorke *and* Lincolne.

Votes in Parliament concerning Serieant Maior Generall Skippon.

18. That the Command of His Majeſty to call Captain *Philip Skippon*, Serjeant Major Generall of the forces of *London*, to attend his Majeſties perſon at *Yorke*, is againſt the Law of the Land, and the libertie of the Subject.

19. That this Command of His Majeſty to call Captain *Philip Skippon*, Serieant Maior Generall of the forces of *London*, to attend His Maieſties Perſon, being imployed by both Houſes, to attend their ſervice, without their conſent is againſt the priviledge of Parliament.

20. That

20. That Captaine *Philip Skippon*, Seriant Maior Generall of the forces of *London*, ſhall continue to attend the ſervice of both Houſes, according to their former Commands.

Hen. Elſing, Clerc. Parl. D. C.

Votes touching the Members of both Houſes.

21. That this Houſe doth declare that if any perſon whatſoever ſhall arreſt, or Impriſon the perſons of the Lords and Gentlemen, or any of them: Or any other of the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, that ſhall be imployed in the ſervice of both Houſes of Parliament; or ſhall offer violence to them, or any of them, for doing any thing in purſueance of the Commands or Inſtructions of both Houſes, ſhall be held diſturburs of the proceedings of Parliament, and publicke Enemies of the State: And that all perſons are bound by their Proteſtation to endeavour to bring them to condigne puniſhment.

22. That this Houſe doth declare that all thoſe of the City of *London*, and all other perſons, that have obeyed the Ordinance for *Militia*, and done any thing in execution thereof, have done according to the Law of the Land, and in purſuance of what they were Commanded by both Houſes of Parliament, and for the defence and ſafety of the King and Kingdome, and ſhall have the aſſiſtance of both Houſes of Parliament, againſt any that ſhal preſume to queſtion them for yeelding their obedience unto the ſaid Commands in this neceſſary and Important ſervice, and that whoſoever ſhall obey the ſaid Ordinance for the time to come, ſhall receave the approbation and aſſiſtance from both Houſes of Parliament.

23. That this Houſe doth declare that they are Reſolved

ſolved to maintaine thoſe Lords and Gentlemen in thoſe things they have done, and ſhall further doe in the obedience of their commands, for the preſerving of the peace of the Kingdome.

Votes touching His Maieſties taking up Armes.

24. That it appears that the King (ſeduced by wicked Councell) intends to make warre againſt the Parliament, who (in all their conſultations and actions) have propoſed no other end unto themſelves, but the care of his Kingdome, and the performance of all duty loyalty to His Perſon.

25. That whenſoever the King maketh Warre vpon the *Parliament*, it is a breach of the truſt repoſed in him by his people, contrary to his *Oath*, and tending to the diſſolution of this Government.

26. That whoſever ſhall ſerve or aſſiſt him in ſuch warres, are Traytors, by the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome, and have been ſo adiudged by two Acts of Parliament.

27. That the Kings abſence ſo farr remote from his Parliament, is not onely an obſtruction, but may be a diſtruction to the affaires of *Ireland*.

28. That when the Lords and Commons ſhall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only queſtioned and contraverted, but contradicted; and a Command that it ſhould not be obeyed, is a high breach of the Priviledge of Parliaments.

29. That thoſe Perſons that adviſed his Majeſty to abſent himſelfe from the Parliament, are Enemies to the peace of the Kingdome; and juſtly to be ſuſpected to be favourers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*.

30. That

30. That the Kingdome hath beene of lat, and ſtill is in an evident and eminent danger, both from Enemies abroad, and a Popiſh and diſcontented party at home; That there is an vrgent and invitable neceſſity of putting his Majeſties Subjects into a poſture of defence, for the ſafeguard both of his Majeſty and his People.

31. That the Lords and Commons fully apprehending this danger, and being ſenſible of their owne duty, to provide a ſutable prevention; have in ſeverall Petitions addreſſed themſelves to his Majeſty, for the ordering and diſpoſing of the *Militia* of the Kingdom, in ſuch a way as was agreed vpon by the Wiſbome of both Houſes to be moſt effectuall and proper for the preſent exigents of the Kingdome, yet could not obtaine it; but his Majeſty did ſeverall times refuſe to give Royall aſſent therevnto.

32. That in this caſe of extreme danger, and His Majeſties refuſall of the *Ordinance* of Parliament: Agreed upon by both Houſes for the *Militia*, doth oblige the People, and ought to be obeyed by the Fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome.

FINIS.

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6

AN IRISH DECLARATION

FROM

The Viſcounts, Earles, Barons, Lords, Knights, Colonels, Captaines, Serjeant Majors, and Commanders in

IRELAND

DECLARING

All the Conqueſts and Victories, that that the *PROTESTANTS* have obtained, ſince their firſt Rebellion in that Kingdome.

And what Townes, Caſtles, and Countries have beene recovered, and what Rebels have beene ſlaine and overcome.

With each ſeverall Regiment, and the Names of all the Colonels, Captaines, and Officers, either of Horſe or Foot, both in the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Army.

A Copie of a Letter ſent from Ireland *read in the Houſe of Commons.* Jo. Browne Cler. Parl.

LONDON, Printed for *I. Horton, June*, 24. 1642.

DECLARATION

FOR

IRELAND

An *Irish* Declaration, or Remonstrance, of the state of that Kingdome as it is now at this present time

Since the Kingdome of *Ireland* first broke out into open Rebellion, as they have most inhumanely tirranniz'd over the lives, and Consciences of the Protestants, violating their Estates, pillaging, burning, and taking divers Townes, and Castles, and depopulating the whole Nation, but by the providence of Almighty God, the Protestants have now lately relieved and restored many Castles, and recovered many Townes, from them

them, the Colonels, Captaines, and Commanders, the ſeverall Troopes, and Regiments that have either beaten, or repelled the Rebels, ſince their firſt diſloyalty, are, as ſhall be methodically expreſſed hereafter.

In *Connow*, the Lord Viſcount *Wilmot*, the Lord *Dillon*, the Earle of *Ormond*, and Sir *Thomas Lucus* have a Troope of Horſe, to the number of ſix thouſand in all, and many are the Acts that they have performed againſt the rebels, in reſcuing ſome Townes, as *Drogheda*, *Clogham*. *&c.* and in reſtoring ſome Caſtles, as *Ballingnekill*, *Dert*. *&c.*

In *Munſter* the Lord *Moore*, and Sir *William Munſon*, have their Forces of Foote where they have given *Tyrone* and his confederats divers repulſes.

In *Vlſter*, the Lord Viſcount *Lecall*, the Lord *Grandeſon*, Sir *John Burlace*, Sir *George Wentworth*, have a compleate and ſtrong Troope of Horſe, where they did beate the Lord Barron of *Dunbony*, an arch rebell with divers others, theſe Troopes lay on the one ſide of the Towne, and on the other

ther ſide, being the North, the Earle of *Straford*, the Lord *Conuay*, Sir *Adam Loftus*, Captaine *Arthur Chicheſter*, were with their Forces, ſo that the Towne being thus forteſied with Garriſons on both ſides, it was almoſt impregnable, for indeed the rebells have had a ſingular aime at that Towne, but beſides theſe Troops of Horſe, there are alſo ſeverall Companies of Foote in the ſame Townes, as in *Connow* the Lord preſident, the Earle of *Clanrickard*, Sir *Fredricke Hamilton*, Captaine *Francis Butler*, with 3000. 500. men in armes.

In *Munſter* the Lord preſident of *Munſter*, the Lord *Bathingſall*, Captaine *William Sherman*, Captain *Charles Price*, who repelled the Lord Barron of *Loghmoe* and all his Forces.

In *Ulſter*, the Lord *Blaney*, Sir *Henry Titchburne*, Sir *Iohn Vaughan*, Sir *William Steward*, Sir *Arthur Tirringham*, Sir *Robert Steward*, Sir *John Burlace* Captaine *George Blunt*, Captaine *Bayly*, Captaine *Billingſley*,

Captaine *John Barre*, with above 3000. men, they have relieved the Caſtle of *Bur*. In *Lemſter*, the Lord Lievtenant, Lord *Lambert*, Sir *Arthur Loftus*, Sir *Thomas Wharton*, Sr. *Francis Willoughby*, Sir. *George Hamilton*, Cap. *Robert Biron*, Sir. *Arthur Blundell*, and the Earle of *Eſmond* in the Reare, theſe have beaten the Lord *Mountgarret* from diverſe Townes, ſlaying at leaſt 1000. of the Rebels.

The Regiments are ſeverally divided, the firſt Regiment is the Lord Preſidents, of *Connow*, conſiſting of 1000. men. The ſecond is Sr. *Fulkes Hunck's his Regiment* in *Munſter*, conſiſting of 1000. men, the third Sir *Michaell Earls Regiment* conſiſting of 1000. who have lately beaten the Earle of *Carre*, and ſome other of the cheife Rebels.

The Fourth Colonell *Crumwels* Regiment conſiſting of 8000. men, thees have ſubdued moſt part of thoſe Counties where many of the cheife Rebels inhabit.

The Fift, is Colonell *Gibſons* Regiment, conſiſting of 1000. men, theſe have overcome

come all the Territories of *Clamallera*.

The ſixth, is the Lord *Conowaies* Regiment, conſiſting of 1000. men.

The ſeventh, is Sr. *John Clotworthies* Regimen:, conſiſting of 1000. men, theſe have beaten the Earle of *Wickloe*, putting him and his men to flight.

In *Munſter* lieth sir *Charles Vavaſers* Regiment, conſiſting of 1000. theſe have valiantly ſubdued the Rebels in thoſe parts, and ſlew many thoulands of them, having relieved many Caſtles and recovered divers Townes, and ſuccoured many Proteſtants, that was ſorely oppreſſed by them.

Sir *William Ogles* Regiment, conſiſting of 1000. men. theſe overthrew the Lord *Dunſane*, and the Lord *Muſgroo*.

Sr. *John Paulet's* Regiment, conſiſting of 1000. men, have done many brave exploits, by whoſe helpe the Proteſtants have obtained many Victories, in greateſt cauſe of feare, under the Earle of *Barramore*, Lord *Dungarvin*.

The Lord *Liſles* Regiment, conſiſteth

of

of 1000. men, Sir *Richard Greenvill* being Lievetenant Colonell.

The Troopes that the Scottish Army have in *Vlster*, are conducted by Sir *William Belfore* Knight, Commissary Generall.

These are the full Forces of the protestant Army, who have given the Rebels diverse overthrowes, and are like by the grace of God to bring that Kingdome into loyall obedience.

The Coppie of a Letter sent from Ireland, and read in the House of Commons.

Sir, the last Munday the Lord *Moore* sallied out of the Towne, and fell upon the Enemies, and drove them out of their Trenches, and raisd their Siege, slew above a hundred of their Men, and tooke great store of their Armes, having lost but few men this Newes is true I assure you, so with my Love I rest,

Your loving Friend. *R. H.*

Ordered that this be printed and published

Hen. Elsing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

FINIS.

LAMENTABLE

NEWES

FROM

IRELAND.

WITH

The Humble Petition of Your Majesties most faithfull and loyall Subjects, The distressed Protestants in Your Majesties Kingdom of *Ireland*: Concerning His Majesties Resolution for that Kingdome.

ALSO,

A LETTER SENT

FROM THE

KINGS MAJESTIE

To the Lords of His Privie-Councell.

WITH A TRVE

AND PERFECT RELATION

of the particular Passages at *York*.

June 8. *London*, Printed for *I. Green*, and *A. Coll.* 1642.

A True and Perfect Relation of particular *Paſſages at York.*

HIs Majeſty having ſummoned the Free-holders of the County of *Yorke*, to appear before him on *Hewarth Moor*, on the day above ſaid, to ſatisfie them concerning his Intentions, many of them did appeare together with a great multitude of Labourers and poore people, as alſo divers of the Inhabitants of the County of *Lancaſter*, in all according to the eſtimate of my ſelfe, and divers others of judgement about the number of ſeventy thouſand or upwards, they came not in any warlike way, nor put themſelves into any poſture or order, neither was the third part of the Free-holders, and Farmers of *Yorkeſhire* there.

His Majeſty had appointed 800. foot compleatly armed to guard his Perſon, and about 11. of the clock came to the Field or Moore accompanied with a great number of Lords and Knights of great quality.

The Prince alſo led a Troope of Horſe conſiſting of 150 Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen, ſome whereof had foure, ſome three, and moſt two men a peece, which made another Troope.

As ſoone as his Majeſty came neere the *Moore*, the people did entertaine him with a very loud ſhout, and being come into the Moore, and as much ſilence made as could be, his Majeſty made a Speech, therein declaring his conſtancie in the Proteſtant Religion, and his great affection to that County, intimating that he reſolved to recide amongſt them in thoſe parts to keep the County in peace. His Speech being ended, he rode round the Moore, and about the number of 65000. followed him, crying all the way (God bleſſe the King,) but the reſt which were about 5000. all Free-holders, ſeparated themſelves to Petition to his Majeſty, and had their Petition ready to preſent to him, the effect of it, was to beſeech his Majeſty to come to the Parliament, &c. but their Petition was intercepted by the Lord *Savill*, who carried himſelfe very ſtrangely in that particular, and in a forcible manner, ſuffered them not to deliver the ſame: His Majeſty having rode round the Field, all the people brought him off the Moore with a great ſhout, and there many left him, but 20000. accompanied him to the Court Gate, and ſaw him ſafe at Court, and with a great ſhout left him.

A great multitude of the people never came at the Field, but ſtaid in the City, and others came but into the Moore, when the reſt came out. And having thus made their appearance about eight of the clock at night all were returned out of the Field.

To

To the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie.

The humble Petition of Your Majeſties moſt faithfull and loyall Subiects, the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in Your Majeſties Kingdome of Ireland, *concerning His Majeſties Reſolution for that Kingdome.*

Humbly ſhewing,

VNto Your moſt Sacred Majeſtie, that Your Majeſties moſt faithfull and loyall Subjects, the diſtreſſed Proteſtant party of Your Kingdome of *Ireland*, have, and do ſuffer a moſt heavie and cruell tyranny, raiſed and proſecuted by the rebellious Papiſts in Your Majeſties Kingdom of *Ireland*, to the utter ruine and ſubverſion of our fortunes, liberties and perſons. For even ſo farre hath this hideous *Hidra of Rebellion* proceeded, and their ungratefull treachery hath taken ſuch progreſſe, that beſide their unnaturall riſing up in Arms, and their unparaled

paraleld expreſſions and deteſtations againſt Your Majeſties government over them, and againſt all the *Engliſh* Nation; They have ſpilt (unprovoked) the blood of many thouſands of Your Majeſties moſt loyall and faithfull Snbjects, and deſtroyed the Eſtates of all the Proteſtants in this your Majeſties Kingdome, not ſparing uuto them out of their inhumane crueltie, the leaſt part of the fruits of their care and induſtrie, but have moſt maliciouſly endeavoured to ruine both them and their poſteritie, and (as may appear by many and ſeverall concurring circumſtances) have by this means laboured (notwithſtanding your Majeſties continual Grace and Goodneſſe unto them when they ſtood in the condition of good and loyall Subjects, and alſo your often proffered grace unto them ſince their Revolt, which their own ingratitude will not let them be ſenſible of) even to deprive your Majeſtie of your Royall Crown and Dignitie, and to place over them ſome one of their Rebellious faction, or ſome other forraign Prince, and ſo altogether to ſhake off the *Engliſh* government. And whereas your gracious Maje-

Majeſtie out of a juſt ſenſe of the great miſeries and afflictions, of Your diſtreſſed and oppreſſed Subjects in Your Kingdome of *Ireland*, occaſioned by the barbarous and inhumane cruelties of the rebellious Papiſts there, had firmly reſolved (by the aſſiſtance of the Almighty God) to viſit this your diſtreſſed Kingdome in your own royall perſon, for the full and finall ſuppreſſion of this Rebellion, and out of your Majeſties moſt gracious care and vigilancie unto this Nation to purchaſe the peace thereof with the hazard of your own loyall perſon.

We Your Majeſties moſt faithfull (although diſtreſſed Subjects) out of that duty which becomes the breaſt of every loyall ſubject, as alſo out of the reſpective deſire of your Majeſties welfare and ſecuritie, knowing that upon Your happineſſe conſiſts the felicitie of this and of the reſt of Your Majeſties Kingdoms. And alſo conſidering the cruell and bloody diſpoſition of thoſe with whom Your Maj. muſt encounter; Do in all humble and thankful manner, from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearts & bodies proſtrate at your Maj. feet, & with the loyall duty of faithful ſubjects, render moſt har-

ty thanks for this your Maj. moſt royal and Princely purpoſe to relieve your poor diſtreſſed Subjects, and to take juſt and deſerved vengeance on the cauſers of cheſe calamities, for the vindicating of Your honour, Revenging the blood of ſo many of Your Majeſties moſt faithfull and loyall Subjects, and the ſecuring the future ſafety of Your Majeſties Crowns and Kingdomes.

And we Your Majeſties moſt loyall Subjects, conſidering the condition of thoſe with whom Your ſacred perſon muſt deale, to be bloudy, contumacious, and deſirous to ſhake off Your Majeſties Government from off them, (and ſo to forget that duty which Your Grace and Goodneſſe hath formerly engaged them to acknowledge and to perform for Your Sacred Clemencie expreſſed to their Errours and Enormities) do humbly beg and beſeech you, That you would forbear to hazard your Royall perſon among ſuch barbarous Monſters, but that you would rather take ſpeedy and ſuch Order for our Relief, as in Your Princely wiſdome ſhall be thought fit and convenient, without the danger of Your Princely perſon, unto whom the leaſt misfortune cannot befall,

fall, without a generall grief unto all Your moſt faithfull Subjects, and by that means, your loyall Subjects ſuffer a greater affliction then the burthen of their preſent calamities.

May it therefore pleaſe Your moſt Sacred Majeſtie to take theſe humble and hearty deſires of Your Majeſties moſt faithfull and loyall Subjects into your Princely conſideration, and out of the loving care and vigilancie which Your Majeſtie hath alwayes expreſſed for the Advancement of Your Majeſties Subjects their Peace and Proſperitie, the danger and hazard of Your Sacred Perſon.

And we ſhall pray, as in duty we are, &c.

A Letter ſent from the Kings Majeſtie, to the Lords of His Privie-Councell

CHARLES R.

RIght truſtie and wel-beloved Couſins, and Councellers, we greet you Well. Although We have already Written Our minde to you Our Councell; yet upon Our ſecond thoughts, ariſing eſpecially from ſome bad rumours, coming to our knowledge, finde it neceſſarie both for Our Selfe, and for the good of that Our Kingdome, to declare, and make known both Our diſpoſition and deſires more fully.

We know and feel the charge to be great, and the place to be high wherein God (the King of kings) hath placed Us, and that We muſt render an accompt of all Our actions to him, who in his own time ſhall judge all men without exception of perſons. We have no other intention, but by Our government to honour him by whom Kings raign, and to procure the good of Our People: and for this end to preſerve the right and authoritie wherewith God hath veſted Us, and which

which by his Providence hath been derived to Us, by many Princely progenitors: in the which glory, that Our ancient Kingdome, and native Realm of *Scotland* doth participate.

We did not require of you, that you should sit as Judges upon the affairs of another Kingdome: We only intended to have both Our sufferings & Our actions, (as they are expreſt in many papers past betwixt Us and Our parliament) made throughly known unto you: that since We have none besides you whom wee can acquaint with Our proceedings, you may clearly see that We have been so far from wronging Our Parliament of England, that we have given them all satisfaction, even above that which they themselvs in the beginning did expresse, or almost desire: and as much as could well consist with safety of our person and Honor. We will not put you in minde of your naturall affection toward Us, which We know will rather be kindled then extinguished by Our distresse: Nor of your Covenant, wherein you are zealous of Greatnesse and Authority, and wich standeth in that sense wherein you did sweare and subscribe it: Nor of any good Lawes made in Our late Parliament (of which We hope the present and succeeding generations shall reap the fruits, when We are dead and gone:) Nor of any promises made unto Us, Upon which We were willing to yeild to such things for setling the government of that our kingdome, in Our personall absence which neither could We have granted, nor would you have craved (as your selves did professe) had our greater affaires permitted Our residence amongst you. And whereas We are most unjustly blamed and calumniated, 1. That We are popishly affected: 2. That we are the cause of the bloodshed in *Ireland*. 3. That we intend to bring in forraign forces: We here do protest and declare in presence of him who knowes the most secret of Our intentions and actions, that We are no wayes conscious to Our Self of the guiltinesse of any of the said aspersions: and do take him to witnesse Our innocency therein, who onely hath the priviledge to be the searcher of harts. And if any, after so full and plain profession, shall distrust this Our free Declaration, We attest God, that the fault is in the malignity of their rebellious humours, and no wayes deserved on our part.

Given at our Court at York, *the* 20. *of May.* 1642.

FINIS.

K Smith S 8

Iune the 24. 1642.

The Last Joyfull newes from *Ireland*.

Wherein is Related,

A most famous and victorious Battell between the Protestants and the Rebels, at *Kilrush* in the County of *Kildare*: At which place the English with 3000 foot and Horse, valiantly set upon the Enemies, being 12000 in Number, killed neere upon 600 of them, tooke abundance of Armes and Ammunition from them, and brought 3 heads of their Chiefe Commanders to *Dublin*.

Whereunto is added a Letter sent from the Right Honourable Earle of *Ormond* and *Ossory*, to his much Honoured Uncle, Sir *Robert Poyntz*,

Shewing the true estate of the Kingdome of *Ireland* at this present, Received *June* 21. 1642.

Also an Order of both Houses of Parliament, whereby Captaine *Burrell*, *Thomas Lloyd*, *Gentleman*, *Iohn Smith*, and *Francis Dowet* of London, Gentleman, are appointed and approved of, to be Commissaries, to inroll and value the Horse and Armes, to be raised according to the Propositions.

Iohn Browne Cleric. Parliament.

London Printed for John Wright. 1642.

LAUS DEO.

From DUBLIN the ſeventeenth of JUNE, 1642.

Mr. *Carſtell*;

WY kind love unto you remembred, hoping in God of your good health, as I was at preſent thanks be to God for it: your letter dated the tenth of *May* I have received, and of the 29 of *March*, ſince which time I have not received any from my Father, and your ſelfe, fearing two Letters are miſcarried which you ſent by Poſt. As for the ſtate and condition of this Kingdome it is very troubleſome as yet, and the wars are like to hold long, in regard the Rebels will never ſtand long to Battell, but flye to the Mountaines, Bogs, and Woods, we having not men ſufficient to meet them in ſeverall places, and to compaſſe them in, and to leave Garriſons in every Towne of note. For my part I doe continue in Sir *Charles Cootes* Regiment, as Waggon Maſter to the Regiment. And whereas my Father writeth for me to come over, I cannot well get off as yet, and if I ſhould ſeeke to get off, I ſhould never get my pay which is due to me, having received but 50 ſhillings this eight moneths, but I am promiſ'd to receive part of it as ſoone as money cõmeth over: but ſince ſe not agree-

ing well with the Parliament of *England*, is a great hindrance to the proceedings here in *Ireland*, and a discouraging of the Souldiers wanting their pay. I believe I shall hardly get leave to come over as yet, in regard they want Englishmen to be guides to the Army. I am Garrison'd at the *Naas*. I have beene in the Country for six or seven weekes together, where the Lord hath prospered us in all our proceedings: the greatest number of the Rebels that I did see, was at a place called *Kilrush*, in the County of *Kildare*, to the number of 12000. of them, we having but 3000. Horse and Foot, besides they having an infinite number which lay behind the Hill, lying upon advantage to divide the spoyle, thinking to have had the victory of us, crying and shouting, victory, victory, before they had obtained it. It pleased God at very sight of our men being couragious (although they had the Hill and Wind of us) our Commanders marching up towards them daunted them: and at two or three shots at each other, the Rebels began to retreate and flye, and to separate themselves, and flye over Bogs and Hills, our Horse pursuing them, many of them were slaine in an houre and a halfe space, we killed neere upon 600. of them, and tooke aboundance of Armes and Ammunition from them, and brought three heads of their chiefe Commanders to *Dublin*. Thus Gods wonderfull providence in delivering us from the hands of our enemies, we having had but foure or five men slain at that Battel; many conflicts we have had with them since, and still we had good successe thanks be to God for it. I make no question but you have heard of the losse of our Colonell Sir *Charles Coote*, that Noble Commander, who by accident of my Lord *Burlaces* troopes, was

shot

ſhot at *Trime* in purſuing the Rebels there, who came to take *Trim* after he had recovered it from them, he having but 150. men, diſcomfited 3000. of them, the loſſe of that man is much lamented among us all, and eſpecially true hearted Chriſtians, for God did proſper and bleſſe all his proceedings. I am ſure I have loſt the beſt Maſter in *Ireland*, if he had lived he had done much good for them that belonged to him, and other people that were robbed, thouſands will miſſe him: there was no man in *Ireland* did terrifie the Rebels ſo much as he, and if it had pleaſed God to have ſpared his life, he had quickly ſubdued thē, the very name of him was a terror to them: the Earle of *Kildare* hath Sir *Charles Cootes* Regiment; how he will proceed againſt his Countrymen I know not as yet, I pray God ſend my Lord Lieutenant ſafe over, for we want him to ſettle buſineſſes here; ſince my Colonels death things goe on but ſlowly.

I pray God bleſſe and proſper the Parliament in their proceedings, and that the King and they might agree, both for the good of the Church and Common-Weale.

Yours *Samuell Smith.*

A Letter ſent out of Ireland, from the Right Honourable the Earle of *Ormond* and *Oſſory*, to his much Honoured Uncle, Sir *Robert Poyntz*,

Shewing the true eſtate of the Kingdome of Ireland at this preſent time, and delivered to his Uncle here the 21 of June, 1642.

THe laſt Letter that I received from you was of the 7 of Aprill, by one *Veele*, to whom I ſhall be very ready to give my aſſiſtance towards his preferment, when I have rid my ſelfe of a few former ingagements. We are now in ſo good condition for matter of men, that I know it will be wondred that wee doe no more with them, but when it ſhall bee conſidered what men without money, Meat or Clothes, are able to doe, I hope we ſhall not be taxed with ſloth, having by many winter, and uncomfortable Journeyes, manifeſted our unwillingneſſe to lye ſtill; it is true that our want of money, was then as great as now, but then the Hagards Barnes, and Houſes were full of all manner of Proviſion, which now betwixt us and the Rebels are ſo waſted that the moſt fertill Countrey affords nothing but penury and deſolation, and the booty that heretofore give edge to the ſouldiers, and made them endure indefatigably all manner of labour, is for a great circuit about us, either already taken by our men, or removed into inacceſſable places by the Rebels, nor have wee carriage (if there were plenty o. Victuall in the ſtore) to convey it with us, forth of thoſe limits already waſted

sted, if we march in such numbers as to considerable service, and on the otherside if we lye still, and eate upon the Magazin, we shall very suddenly waste it, so that unlesse there be a speedy supply of at least victuall, and carriages, this army raised at so great charge to that Kingdome, will be forced to dissolve or ruine of it self. I have given you this short, and true accompt of the state we are in, because I hope you are at *London*, where you may acquaint such of your friends as are of the *Parliament* with it, as likewise that you might be able to say something in my excuse, in case the blame of this dangerous losse of time should be laid on me; for though all this bee much fullier represented to the Commissioners, appointed for the management of this War, from the Lords Iustices, and Councell, yet many may be apt to censure mee, that will not be called to the reading of that.

When I know you are at *London*, you shall heare often, and more particularly from me; on Munday next I take a journey to *Conaught*, where I will endeavor to doe some service before our provision be quite goue, from thence you shall heare from me, in the meane time I rest.

Dublin, the 10 of June, 1642.

Your most affectionate Nephew and Servant
Ormond Ossory.

Die Jovis, 16 Junii, 1642.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That Captain *Burrell*, *Thomas Lloyd* Gentleman, *John Smith*, and *Francis Dowett* of *London*, Gentleman, are hereby appointed and approved of, to be Commissaries to inroll and value the Horse and Arms to be raised according to the Propositions.

Joh. Brown, Cleric. Parliamen.

Die Lunæ, 20 Junii, 1642.

THe Commissaries appointed for the inrolling and valuing of Horse and Arms, according to the late Propositions (and the above Order) have resolved to attend the said Service without *Moor gate*, under the City-Wall; where they will be ready from Eight to Twelve every fore-noon, and from Two till Six every afternoon dayly, for the purposes afore said, beginning on *Tuesday* the One and twentieth of this instant *June*, 1642.

Robert Burrell.
Thomas Lloyd.
John Smith.
Francis Dowett.

FINIS.

THE GENERAL 9

RESOLVTION

Of the two Kingdoms of

ENGLAND and *SCOTLAND*,

CONCERNING,

His Royall Majesty, the Prince, and the Evill Incendiaries which are now about them.

As it was concluded on by the Lords and Councell of both KINGDOMES.

Also His Majesties Oath and Protestation at *Yorke*, together with the Lords also, *June* 19.

Likewise three Propositions concerning the *Militia*, declaring the Reasons why it doth belong to the Parliament for the Ordering of the same.

With the Votes and Resolution of both Houses of Parliament, concerning His Majesties last Writ.

Together with the severall Reasons to prove that every man is bound to uphold the Parliament against all Opposers whatsoever.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons that these particulars aforementioned be printed and published throughout the Kingdome.

Iohn Brown Cler. parl H. Elsing Cler. parl.

June 24. Printed for *I. Tompson* and *A. Coe.* 1642.

The Reason why the Subiect is bound to obey the Command of the Parliament, Voted,

That if in case of necessity, if his Majesty shall deny his assent, the Ordinance agreed on by both Houses of Parliament, doth obliege the People, and ought to bee obeyed, being warranted by the Fundamentall Laws of the Kingdome.

Both Houses of Parliament hath took into their serious consideration the Occasion and Reason why the Members of the said Houses should absent themselves upon their summoning in, Whereupon they hath drawn up a Charge against them, and are resolv'd that they shall pay 100 l. a man, and to be examined by the Committee before the next sitting.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, that this be printed and published.

John Brown Cler. Parl.

Hen. Elsing Cler. Parl. D. Com.

The Generall Reſolutions of the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, concerning His Maieſty, and the Parliament, and concerning the Kings Reſolution for the taking Arms.

AT this preſent it is not unknown to the King who hath incenſed Him againſt His *Parliament*, and who have given Counſell derogatory to the Honour, and deſtructive to the eſſence of all *Parliaments*, and to the *Parliament* this is utterly unknown; Yet the King deſires evidence of theſe things from the *Parliament*: Nay, though hee diſavow the ſheltring of ill Miniſters, yet he conceals ſuch as have traduced, and ſlandered the Parliament in ſome things notoriouſly falſe; and yet to an ordinary underſtanding, it is the ſame thing to conceal, as to ſhelter a Delinquent: and if it be below a King to re-

reveal a trayterous Incendiary, that hath abuſed His ear with pernitious Calumnies, it is below him too to leave him to Juſtice being otherwayes revealed.

Here it is ſuppoſed that *Parliaments* may make an Ordinance contrary to Law, Nature, Reaſon, Sence; and it is inferred therfore, That they are dangerous and may bring the life and libertie of the ſubject to a Lawleſſe, and arbitrarie ſubjection; this ſuppoſition is inconſiſtent with one of the moſt ſacred and venerable pillars of all Law and policie; and yet here it is inſiſted upon, let all Chronicles be ſearched, and let one Story be cited of any Parliament, which did tyrannize over King and Subject, or ordain any thing to the miſchief of both; Yet Kings I think will not make the ſame challenge. the beſt of them have done Acts of Oppreſſion, and the Reaſons are apparant for it; but no Reaſons can bee given why Parliaments ſhould uſurpe, or how they can uſurpe; yet the Kings inference runs againſt all

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Parliaments: He doth not ſay this Parliament tyrannizeth, and therfore he reſides from them, and pronounces their Votes invalid, but becauſe Parliaments may tyrannize; therfore they have no power in their Votes at all, at any time whatſoever, further then the King ratifies them.

The Parliament ſayes not ſo much; they ſay hee is now ſeduced by wicked Counſell, and therfore rejects their Requeſts, to the danger of the State.

In ſuch Caſes they conceive there is a power in them to ſecure the State without his concurrence: At other times when the Kings are not ſeduced, they ought to do nothing without their conſent.

Our Caſe is not as *Scotlands* were, for our malignant party is far greater then theirs; yet both *England and Scotland* are reſolved to aſſiſt the King and Parliament againſt all ſuch oppoſers, and will to the uttermoſt of their Endeavours root out all ſuch.

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The question concerning the *Militia* is not to be put indifinitely, whether or no the King ought to order the *Militia* in times of no extraordinary danger; our case is now upon supposition, if the King in extraordinary danger will not yeeld to such a Posture as the Kingdom thinks most safe, whether the *Parliament* may not order that Posture of themselves, so the *Parliament* puts it. But the King puts it thus. If the Parliament invades his power over the *Militia*, causelesly, whether they may not as wel seize a any subjects Estates.

That question then which must decide all, is this, whether that Posture which the *Parliament* chuses, or that of the Kings, be most safe for the Kingdom at this time, and who shall judge most properly. Till now that the ancient pillars of Law, and policy were taken away, and the state set upon a new basis, no evill was to be presumed of the representative body of the Kingdome, nor no Justice expected from a King defecting

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ting his grand Councell, but now every man may arraign *Parliaments*, no King was ever yet so just but that *Parliaments* have in some things reduced them from Errour, nor no Kings so unjust that Parliaments did seduce into Errour, yet Parliaments are now charged of being Enemies to Religion, Lawes, and Liberties. And the King to preserve these absents himself from Parliaments, but since we must dispute for Parliaments; first wee say they must in probability bee more knowing then any other privadoes; Secondly, in regard of their publike interest, they are more responsible then any other, and lesse to be complained of in case of Errour.

Thirdly, they have no private interest to deprave them, nothing can square with the Common Councell but the common good, and if 500 of the Nobility and Gentry should aym at an Aristocraticall Usurpation, or any other power of oppression, they could never compasse their ends, it were folly in them.

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The Lords all ſubſigned a Proteſtation to the King, to obey no Ordinance of *Parliament* that was contrary to the known Laws, and in particular that of the *Militia*, till the Royall aſſent were given to it, and to ſtand for, and defend the Kings perſon, &c. And His Majeſty ſigned another to the Peers, and to govern them according to the Laws, and to protect them, in whatſoever they ſhould lawfully do for their defence.

It was reſolved upon the queſtion by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, *That the Commiſſion of Array for Leyceſter is againſt Law, and againſt the Liberty and property of the Subiect.* June 20. It was reſolved upon the queſtion, *That all thoſe that are Actors in putting of the Commiſſion of Array in execution, ſhall be eſteemed as diſturbers of the peace of the Kingdom, &c.*

Ordered that this ſhall be printed and publiſhed through the whole *Kingdome.*

Joh. Brown Cler. Parl.

10

LONDONS REMONSTRANCE TO THE PARLIAMENT,

In ſubſcribing to the Propoſitions of both HOUSES,

Concerning Money, Plate, Horſe, Horſemen, and Armes to be lent for the maintenance of an Army for the Kings Peace, and the ſafety of the Parliament.

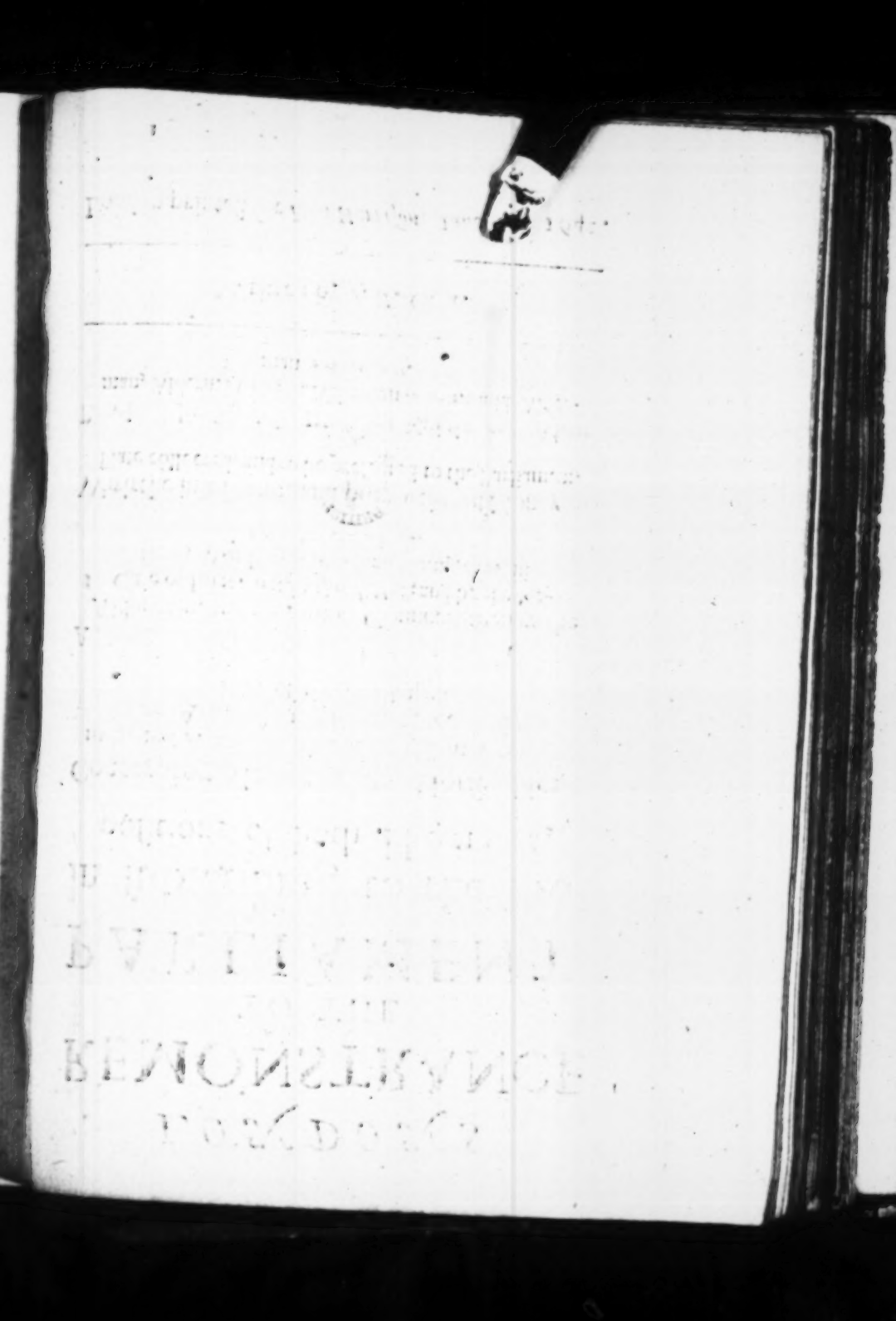
As it was concluded by the Lord Maior, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Councell-men of the Citie of LONDON, in *Guild-Hall*; and by the Maſters, Wardens, &c. of all Companies in each ſeverall Hall.

With the juſt ſumme and proportion of Money and Plate collected, and to be preſented to the Parliament.

Received by Sir *Iohn Wollaſton* Knight and Alderman, Alderman *Towſe*, Alderman *Warner*, and Alderman *Andrewes*.

Written by *I. H.* Gent.

London printed for *Iohn Harriſon*. *Iune* 23. 1642.



LONDONS REMONSTRANCE TO THE PARLIAMENT,

In ſubſcribing to the Propoſitions of both Houses.

SInce by too-apparent demonſtrations it appeares, that the King (deluded, and ſeduced by the evill Counſels of a malignant party, whoſe Spirits are ill-affected to the publike peace of this Kingdome) intendeth to make warre againſt the Parliament, and that in continuance of the ſame intention, he hath already collected and levyed great forces both of Horſe and

Foot, to maintain the former reſolution throughout the County of *York*, and a multitude of Papiſts, and other reſolute and ill-diſpoſed perſons in other Counties adjacent; all which doe apparently intimate his reſolution to make warre againſt the Parliament: They have therefore after a ſerious and deliberate conſideration thereof, propounded certaine Propoſitions to the Citie of *London*, deſiring their aſſiſtance in a preſent ayde for the ſecurity of both Houſes; for otherwiſe the pernicious malice of ſuch deſperate perſons, imployed in ſo horrid, and unnaturall an Act, will be ready to commit all outrage and violence, which will conſequently tend to the diſſolution of this preſent governement, the violation of the Priviledges of Parliament, the deſtruction of our Religion, and all hopes in reforming the Church, to the perpetuall ruine of the Lawes, the liberty and propriety of the Subjects. Wherefore the Lords and Commons, conſidering how great an obligation doth lie upon them in Honour, Conſcience, and Duty, according to the high truſt repoſed in them by the whole Kingdom, to uſe all poſſible meanes in ſuch caſes for the timely prevention of ſo great and irrecoverable evils, have thought it expedient to publiſh their ſence and apprehenſions of theſe imminent dangers; thereby to excite and extimulate all well-affected perſons to contribute their reſpective aſſiſtance to the preparations neceſſary for the oppoſing and ſuppreſſing the trayterous attempts of thoſe malignant ſpirits. The Citie of *London* ſeemed to ſympathize exceedingly

exceedingly with theſe Propoſitions: and the Parliament were not more ready to propound them, then they as ready to performe, and obey the ſame.

Laſt Tueſday the Lord Maior, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Councell-men, met at *Guild-Hall* in diſtribution of their affections, and in conſultations what ſhould be diſpenſed out of the Citie Treaſurie. Every Company likewiſe did meet at their Halls, and there diſtributed every man reſpectively; for men had better diſpenſe with their Money and Plate, conditionally to receive the ſame with intereſt, and have the publike faith of the whole Kingdome engaged for the ſecurity thereof, then being parſimonious and refractory, perhaps have that Money and Plate taken violently from them by inteſtine enemies: and let any man judge, Whether the prevention of ſuch impendent dangers be not more plauſible then the policy and diligence of a Remedie, when extremity ſhall drive a man to the laſt hopes: It is more eaſie to keepe out of dangers, then to get out of them. Wherefore it were more prudent for men (that can ſpare money, without any detriment or prejudice to themſelves) to diſpenſe with what money they can, for the conſervation of peace voluntarily, then when violent warre ſhall come rushing in upon us, to diſpenſe then with compulſion: or elſe perhaps to be reduced to an eſtate not leſſe miſerable then ſlaviſh. But not to hold the Readers deſiring eye in any longer ſuſpenſe, I will delineate, and expreſſe the particular proportion of moneys gathered in *London*:

The Lord Maior, Court of Aldermen, and Common-Councell-men, ſitting at *Guild-Hall*, made a finall determination of their intents, and have diſburſed fifty thouſand pounds, partly out of the Citie Treaſury, and partly out of their owne purſes; and will maintaine fifty Horſe. Moſt of the twelve Companies have diſpenſed twenty thouſand pounds a-piece; and of the other Companies, ten thouſand pounds is the leaſt that any have disbuſed: beſides an infinite number of Plate that is lent, of an unknowne worth. Some Companies maintain threeſcore Horſe, ſome forty, ſome thirty, but twenty is the leaſt that any Company maintaines, with as many Horſe men: for the preſervation of the publike peace and tranquility of the Kingdome, for the perſonall defence of the King, and both Houſes of Parliament. The affection of no man was meaſured by any limitation, but according to the proportion of his offer, he expreſſed his good will to this ſervice. But according to the appointment and direction of both Houſes of Parliament, the Money, Plate, Horſe, or Horſe-men were delivered to Sir *Iohn Wollaſton*, Knight and Alderman, Alderman *Towſe*, Alderman *Warner*, and Alderman *Andrewes*: for they were Ordered to be Treaſurers to receive all the Money and Plate, brought in for the purpoſes aforeſaid. And the Acquittances of them, or of any two of them (as it was ordered by the Parliament) for the Receit of the ſame is a ſufficient ground for the Party ſo lending Money, or Plate, to demand the ſame againe with intereſt; and likewiſe conſiderati-

on

on for the faſhion of the Plate. The totall ſumme of all the Moneys and Plate that the Citie hath brought in to the ſaid Aldermen, is ſuppoſed to amount to above ten hundred thouſand pounds: the Horſe and Horſe-men to the number of about eight hundred and fifty; but there are many more Horſe in preparation to bee ſent.

FINIS.

on for the Fruition of the Place. The total Summe of all the Moneys and Plate that the Citie hath [illegible] to the said Allarum, is [illegible]

Item to the said Hoode-man for the number of three [illegible]

A PLEA FOR THE PARLIAMENT.

OR,

CONSIDERATIONS FOR

The ſatisfaction of ſuch, who are apt to be miſ-led by a Malignant Party againſt the *PARLIAMENT*,

With a palpable and evident Declaration of their chiefeſt Deſignes therein.

London, Printed in the yeere, 1642.

A PLEA for the PARLIAMENT,

OR,

CONSIDERATIONS *for the ſatisfaction of ſuch, who are apt to be miſ-led by a* Malignant party *againſt the* PARLIAMENT, *with a palpable and evident Declaration of their cheifeſt deſignes therein.*

FOraſmuch as it appeares, that a malignant party hath endeavoured to raiſe up ſtrength and to take up Armes againſt the *Parliament*, conſiſting of the King Lords and Commons of the land, and to increaſe their number by many and falſe reproachfull calumnies caſt upon them, ſuggeſting unto people many diſ-joynted and invalid poſitions to enſnare the minds of men, and although by the late Remonſtrances there is ſufficient ſatisfaction given to every judicious and intelligent Reader; yet foraſmuch as theſe Remonſtrances are many in number, and each of them relating to ſome particular occurrences or other preceding, ſome people having ſeen them all, others but ſome of them, and others none at all: and for as much as many almoſt in all places, both in pulpits, diſcourſes, and other wayes, (friends to the Popiſh party) have and do daily endeavour to ſtir up a moſt ingrateſull and unworthy diſreſpect unto the *Parliament*, who may once learne better, when better taught by the *Parliaments* laſh. There are therefore theſe conſiderations preſenting themſelves to every mans view, being almoſt nothing but what is obvious to every mans knowledge, and for the moſt part evident in all the late Remonſtrances.

Firſt, that men would conſider, when it pleaſed God after many Prayers and Petitions of the people to grant this *Parliament*, what were the complaints of the whole Kingdome in matters both of Church and State, and the miſerable oppreſſions of mens conſciences and properties.

Secondly, conſider what the *Parliament* hath done with great difficulties to accommodate the deſires of the people in this behalfe, in ſuppreſſing the power of tyrants over mens conſciences, in taking away all offenſive and ſuperſtitious innovations in granting liberty to all pariſhes to chooſe Lecturers, in opening the mouthes of our godly Miniſters, in taking away the power of oppreſſing and tyrannicall Courts of Lordly

Prelates in choosing a learned assembly of many godly and able Ministers for the settling of mens judgements, and the healing of the many divisions and unsound opinions amongst us in matters of Religion; and for mens properties how some delinquents this way have bin punished, and others detected evill Ministers of Justice (by whom righteous and just causes have miscarried to the undoing of many poore widdowes, fatherlesse and others, are partly removed, and in a faire way of receiving their demerits; *Ship-money*, *Coat* and *Conduct-moneys* *Patents* almost for every thing to the daily draining and oppressing of the subject) are all taken away; and consider also whether any one thing hath beene translated or proportion made by them, which doth not *in textu proprio*, loooke at the future peace and good of the Kingdome.

Thirdly consider, whether if this present *Parliament* should unhappily be discountenanced, discouraged or dissolved (which God forbid) we should ever have the like, or any; or if by vertue of the act for the *triennall Parliament* there should be another whether any man bearing good will to the Common-wealth being chosen, would be encouraged thereunto and so either wee should have none at all or if any, such an one which instead of a remedy should be an inlet of all misery into the Land.

Fourthly, consider how Kingdomes abroad in the world are governed without *Parliaments*, where *Voluntas regis* is *Lex populi*, the pleasure of the King is the rule of the Kingdome, and the precipitancie of this Kingdome also before this *Parliament*, into all oppression and miserie through the deceitfull suggestions and insinuations of wicked Counsell about his Majestie; and whether we are not looked upon as the envie of other kingdomes by vertue of this onely inheritance of ours.

Fifthly, consider into what misery, blood and distraction, wee had plunged our selves two yeeres since (The two nations of *England* and *Scotland*, imbruing themselves, and weltring in one anothers blood) had not the wisdome of the *Parliament* then present (consisting for the most part of the same Members as this doth) denyed the levying of moneyes for the maintaining of that warre which should for ever make us thankfull for, and mindefull of a *Parliament* benefit.

Sixthly, consider that whereas the *Protestant* Profession and the subjects liberty, is pretended in all things; what good intent either can or could there be to the one or to the other, either in those former differences between us and our brethen, the *Scots*, or the present divisions in this Kingdome when *Papists* and popish persons were then the chiefe Commanders (for the most part) in the *English* Armies and *Papists* now, and Popish persons and *Atheists* whose continuall assertions are wounds and blood and God damne me or heavens damne me, if wee be not revenged upon these round-heads (a nick-name questionlesse, originally

sprung

ſprung up from ſome block-head, having neither wit nor reaſon in it) theſe are the maine abettors, provokers, projectors and actors in theſe diviſions, whether theſe aime at the *Proteſtant* Religion, whatever they call the *Proteſtant* Profeſſion except it be *Popery* in all things, ſupremacy onely excepted, or the ſubjects libertie, let every man of the meaneſt capacity judge.

Seaventhly, conſider what tampering there hath beene this two or three yeares to raiſe up civill Warrs amongſt us in the three Kingdoms, Firſt between Us and the Scot then, that now to riſe in *Ireland*, and amongſt us divers times, as when the Army in the North was plotted to be brought up againſt the Parliament, and of late the bold peremptory and unparalleld contempt and reproach caſt upon the Houſe of Commons by thoſe unworthy Cavileers which accompanyed his Majeſtie to the Houſe of Commons at the accuſation of the five Members, their cruelly abuſing, cutting and mangling of the Citizens, their endeavour to raiſe up a party at Kingſton upon *Thames*, and now alſo to do the like in the North, all tending to Civill Warres and mutinies amongſt us, and whether the ſame ſpirit which worketh ſo hott in *Ireland*, hath no factors in *Scotland*, and amongſt us in *England*, let all men that have the right faculties of diſcerning judge, and whether they that endeavour to raiſe up Civill Warrs in a Kingdome can ayme at the good of that Kingdome let every man that hath not loſt the uſe of reaſon determine.

Eightly, conſider what unheard of miſerie, barbarous crueltie, ſavage inhumanitie is exerciſed upon the poore Proteſtant party in *Ireland*, by that bloody Popiſh Partie, and how far thoſe that endeavour to make a partie againſt the Parliament, are acted by the ſame deſignes, let thoſe judge & conſider who either have or will read the *Iriſh* Remonſtrance, and obſerve how theſe diſtractions at home (occaſioned by the unhappy diviſions and diſtance of his Majeſtie through wicked Counſell from his Parliament) encourage the Rebells and hinder the Proteſtant cauſe there, whereas a happy concurrence between the King and Parliament might in an ordinary way through Gods mercy have ſubdued thoſe wicked Rebells long ſithence.

Ninthly conſider what reproach, ſcandall and ſcorne we ſhall bring upon our whole nation and poſterity for ever if we ſhould cruſh a Parliament, and becauſe they will not ſuffer us to be made ſlaves even for their faithfulneſſe and love unto us (when happily their own particular ſafety and perſonall Preferment might be better advantaged if they ſhould deſert us) it for this we ſhould riſe up againſt them and contend, ſtrive and fight for an Iron yoak of perpetuall bondage and miſerie, and whether God may not in diſpleaſure and juſtice, give us up hereunto, who ſhall ſo lightly eſteeme and ſo ſottiſhly improve that opportunitie, which (long look'd for) he hath now put into our hands; and if our poſterity

ſterity will not curſe the time that ever it entred into our hearts ſo to do.

Tenthly, conſider how it can ſtand with our *Proteſtation*, to take up Arms againſt the whole body of the Kingdom, repreſented in the Parliament and the Laws of the Land, which wee are all bound by oath to ſtand to, to the utmoſt of our lives, liberties and eſtates & wherin the honour and preſervation both of King and Kingdome doth conſiſt, and which of thoſe do breake their oath, either thoſe that pretending the Kings Prerogative take up Arms againſt the whole Kingdom repreſented in the Parliament: or thoſe that ſhall endeavour to ſuppreſſe ſuch a malignant party. The King himſelfe having alwaies proteſted, that for his part (taking God to witneſſe) he deſireth nothing more then the peace and proſperity of Religion and Kingdom.

Eleventhly, conſider whereas lawes and ſtatutes are pretended, as if the Parliament ſhould do many things illegally, even againſt the King with this ſuggeſtion, that then its high time for the ſubjects to looke to their properties and liberties, whether are to be believed, what is lawe either that partie that ſhall affirme this, or that to be law and will not appeare to maintaine their aſſertions (the King profeſſing himſelfe to be no lawyer, and therefore his affirmations are nothing elſe but the miſinformations of others) or the Parliament, the makers of new, and interpreters of the old laws, who have all the Judges and chiefeſt Lawyers in the Land to adviſe withall, taking this with us, that *Salus Populi eſt Suprema lex?* And whether both the law of the Land and the good of the ſubject was not pretended in all the patenti granted, as appeares in the ſeverall Proclamations for the ſame purpoſe, yea, and in all the high commiſſion and Starre chamber Courts, (for it had been as much as a mans eares, libertie and eſtate had beene worth, to have affirmed the contrary) and if it were ſo, let the whole Kingdome judge.

Twelfly, conſider whether that all the wholſome Lawes Benefits and Liberties of the ſubject this day have not beene the birth and fruits of *Parliaments*, and whether the *Parliament* hath not alwaies been the ſanctuary and refuge for all that have beene unjuſtly oppreſſed and abuſed, and what remedy could be had by any other appeales whatſoever, when, through the wickednes of evill Miniſters of Juſtice, the ſtrength of a mans purſe, rather then the righteouſneſſe of his cauſe, hath alwaies been the *bonum omen*, the certaine promiſing token of good ſucceſſe: conſider therefore, whether we ſhall not go about to ſtop, yea to dry up all the ſprings of our legall Priviledges, having ſuch long and happy experiences of the benefits thereof, and whether it ever entred into the heart of any of our Predeceſſors excepting the *Papiſts*, to do the leaſt injury to Parliaments.

Whereas it is objected againſt the Parliament, that they are furious, ſeditious, malicious againſt the King and his Royall care, that under other

other pretences of dangers of farraine and domesticke enemies, they take up Armes against the King, that they endeavour to destroy the Lawes of the Land, and Religion amongst us: consider whether that these, and greater then these aspersions, were not cast upon our brethren, the *Scots*, the odious names of Traytors, Rebels, Factious, Seditious, &c. were cast upon them, it had beene almost death for any man to have affirmed the contrary; and yet when things came legally to be debated, all proved otherwise, and his Majesty himselfe did acknowledge the contrary; and there is no question but (those wicked incendiares betweene his Majestie and his *Parliament*, being once removed) there will be a cleare and mutuall apprehension and right understanding betweene his Majesty and his *Parliament*, to the mutuall joy and comfort, both of his Majesty and his well affected Subjects in the three Kingdomes, and consider whether it is not to be doubted, that the same fire-brands of combustion amongst us now, be not those that were formerly between us and our neigbour Nation, and whether they be not in the same designes of confusion of both Nations still, altering onely the method; beginning in *England* now, with hopes to end in *Scotland*, whereas they formerly begun there, with purpose to end here.

Thirteenthly, consider, that whereas many inconsiderately and others maliciously suggest thus against the *Parliament*, that their remedy is worse then their disease, for they are eased of their taxations of shillings by Impositions of pounds, subsidie upon subsidie, pole-mony, monies adventured, monies lent, &c. But let such consider, that the disease being mortall, the cure may be the more smarting, yet the more salutiferous; and they are not alwayes the worst *Physitians* that advise often *phlebotomie*, or *blood-letting* for a desperate disease, the veines may fill againe, when the heart is whole, which sincking, the man dies, when the veines are full.

It is true, much hath beene done this way, but God is not behind hand with us, we have had our pennyworths for our penny already; that which the *Parliament* hath done (through Gods mercies) mentioned in the second Consideration is worth more than our costs and charges; Moreover, it is not unknowne, that the very *Ship-money* did cost the Kingdome above two hundred thousand pounds a yeere, *Coat* and *Conduct Money*, and other *Millitary* charges, little lesse than that, few of the *Monopolies* did prejudice the Subjects above a million yeerely, the *Soape* a hundred thousand pounds, the *Wine* three hundred thousand pounds, the *Leather* could be little lesse then both, the *Salt* could be no lesse then that; all these, with many other inferiour *Monopolies* are taken away, and because that with the same shew of Law, Justice and Reason, the Subjects might have beene drained to the utmost penny that they were worth, these procuring the chiefest places and offices, who

Witnes the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdome set forth by both Houses, the 15. of *Decemb.* 1641. page 16.

were

were moſt cunning in deviſing new deſignes of oppreſſing the ſubjects, therfore the roote of all theſe wrongs (which is more beneficiall then all the reſt) which was an arbitrary power pretended to be in his Majeſty, of taxing the ſubject and charging their eſtates without conſent of *Parliament* is now declared to be againſt law by both houſes and likewiſe by an act of *Parliament* conſider alſo that theſe preſent taxations are but for the preſent, and in a legall way and nothing ſo great as the former: and for the recovering of poore bleeding *Ireland*: and the ſaving of this ſhaking and staggering Kingdom from ruine and deſtruction

And when men have parted with ſo much as they would once have given to be freed from the High Commiſſion Rods, and Starchamber laſh being under them, (as every man might expect to have been) for that which neither Gods nor mans Law calls ſinne, nay when men have given as much as they would to be freed from ſlavery, as much as the poore *Iriſh* Proteſtants would give to be freed from the cruelty of thoſe bloodhound Papiſts, nay as much as their wives children, eſtates lives, Goſpell is worth (for all lies bleeding) let them then complaine of their hard bargaine and not before: And as for thoſe wicked ſlanderers of that faithfull aſſembly, who cannot indure to think that others would deale more honeſtly then themſelves in the like truſt, that give out as if they would convert the publique ſtock for their perſonall gaine, a cleare and juſt accompt being given herein to the whole Kingdom, it is to be hoped, that ſuch ſhall be made publique examples for ſuch publique ſlanders.

Laſtly, conſider whether (amongſt others) there be not a three fold ground of the proceedings againſt the *Parliament* according to the three fold condition of the chiefe actors in theſe diviſions. who are *Papiſts*, depending Gentlemen, preferred to high places and offices, whoſe policy rather then honeſty, hath been their riſe hereunto, and deſperate Caviliers, whoſe good husbandry it is to put all upon their backs and ſhift for their bellies.

FIrſt, the *Papiſts* ſee now and well perceive, that the *Parliament* making progreſſe according to their beginnings, will take away the leaſt hopes of ever eſtabliſhing that *Antichriſtian* Religion here amongſt us: yea, and take away the very ground worke of future *Plots* and *Projects* this way: and therefore it ſtands them now upon, *Summa labore* with all might and maine to adventure upon any deſigne, (though never ſo deſperate) and to give out themſelves in their eſtates lives and livelyhoods, *uſq; ad extremum*, to the utmoſt that they can, and therefore now though *Ieſuites*, ſhould be hang'd by the halfe dozens, they will adventure, for now or never muſt the *Pope* up or downe in this Kingdome, and he would not willingly looſe his hopes here, though a thouſand of his

Ieſuites

Iesuites should hang for it, for indeed if men would receive it, that is the quarrell in the land, whether *Michael* or the *Dragon*, *Christ* or the *Pope* shall get safest footing in this Island, and let any seeing man look back upon all former proceedings, and consider, who hath beene preferred to the highest places in the Church? what their carriage hath been therein? how the Preaching of the Word (the confounding weapon of Antichrist) hath been suppresst? what superstitious innovations hath been introduced; who have been promoted into the chiefest places in the Universities, what proportion there hath been with the Masse-houses, in candlesticks, tapers, coaps, blasphemous pictures of God & the holy Trinity, crucifixes, crosses, &c. first in the Bishops Chappells, then in all the Cathedralls of the Kingdome, then by little and little in every Parish; Again, What hath been their proceedings at their Commission courts? and what their plot was in their cursed late *Canons*, and the *Et cetera* Oath? and then let him give his Judgement in the point, whether Popery hath not been the marke they aymed at?

Secondly, for the depending Gentlemen, advanced to high places and Offices, whose aims will hold proportion with that of Cardinall *Woolsey* (*for me and my King*) making his Majestie but the Priest, and scarce paying his tithes out of all their pretendings, their Masters profit, whose veines are full of the blood of the Fatherlesse and the Widows, and whose houses are built with the ruines of poore innocents, who regard more the blessings and favours of men, then the curses of the Almightie for their oppression and crueltie, these also know, and well perceive now, that if the Parliament proceed according to their beginnings, they shall not only be exposed to the Justice of their former demerits, but also loose the least hopes of any future favour or practise, because conscious to themselves of an utter impossibilitie in them ever of becomming honest men, who from their first beginnings of preferment, have cashiered out of their thoughts the feare of God, a good conscience, and the day of Judgement; and therefore they must either run beyond seas, betake themselves to some mean condition or other, (for the Parliament they'le have none but iust men, whose proceed-

ceedings in all their Miniſtrations muſt be by the rule of Juſtice and a good conſcience, which is unto them a paradox) or elſe they muſt give out their utmoſt endeavours to the rooting up of this Parliament.

Thirdly the Cavaleers, whoſe lands, houſes, revenues and eſtates are above in the Ayre; who make great brags of the dangerous attempts they have adventured by ſea and land; whoſe greateſt danger of drowning hath been in an Ale-tub or Wine-tubbs, or of ſmothering by the ſmoake of Tobacco; yet they know that it is good fiſhing in troubled waters, and that *England* is full of brave Booties, therefore they beſtir themſelves, and have ſcarce the patience to forbeare their prey till opportunity ſerves their turne, who are all for the preſent; and as for the other world, they have paſt the dreadfull ſentence againſt themſelves, which is (*horeſco referens*) God damne me; Theſe three ſorts are the leaders and provokers of a partie againſt the Parliament, and incendiaries between His Maieſtie and them; Let the whole world of indifferent men iudge and ſee, if theſe be not the Parties, and whether theſe be not their grounds, and yet theſe are the men looked upon, as the only Loyall Subiects, and others as Malignant unto the honour, peace and proſperity of the King and his Royall race; Whereas they can give no Teſtimony of their reſpects unto his Maieſtie, but by ſuch courſes, practiſes and counſells, which alienateth affections between him and his beſt Subiects, wherein conſiſts his honour and ſtrength, who are willing to give out their hearts and hands, purſes and eſtates, prayers and teares in his behalfe; and the God of all knowledge ſhall one day iudge and diſcover, whoſe heats have been moſt loyall to our dread Soveraigne, either of the one or the other.

As for thoſe Noble men, whoſe abſence from the Parliament is an encouragement unto this Malignant partie, if they come under the two firſt rancks of Popiſh, or dependent men; there is no more to be ſaid but this: Their gathering toge her, and appearing in ſuch courſes, is a pregnant teſtimony and iuſtification of what hath been ſaid of thoſe two ſorts, namely; That their deſigne is, *Summo Conatu*, to root up the Parliament, leaſt the Parliament ſhould root up them; but if there be any not under

der theſe rancks, certainly either their ingenuitie is to labour for pacification, and a happy making up of that Breach between his Maieſty and his Parliament; or elſe their Nobility is *meretitulo*, title Noble blood runs in their veines, and Heathens themſelves may throw ſtones at them, whoſe progenitors have been rendered famous by their heroick acts for their Countries care.

From all theſe Conſiderations, this may be well inferred.

THat if ever wee would improve our ſelves, for God, the King, the Kingdome, lives, lawes and liberties, our ſelves and poore poſteritie, if we would not ſee our flouriſhing Cities made ruinous heapes, our peace and plenty turned into blood and Famine, our deareſt Wives raviſh'd and ript up before our faces, our tender childrens braines daſh'd againſt the ſtones, our mutuall trading turned into violence and Robbery, our ſweet enioyments of all relations unto murders, rapes, cruelties upon them all, If in a word we would not have the ſtate of *Germany* and *Ireland*, to be ſtretch'd over our good Land; If we have any love to the Goſpel of life and ſalvation, that the Arke of God may not depart, and miſery come in upon us, as we would not be expoſed to the power and mercies of the bloody Papiſts, the badge of whoſe Arch-leader (the Devills firſt-borne) the Pope, his garments mide red with the b ood of the Saints, Let every man in his ſtation ſtudy peace and u ion, and endeavor all meanes of pacification, abhorring the very thoughts of ever taking up Armes againſt either King or Parliament, but to the utmoſt of our powers, ſetting our ſelves againſt the incendiaries between them both, that the peace of God, and the God of peace may ſtill rule in the midſt of us, that we render not our ſelves *Ludibrium gentium*, the mockingſtock of nations, by doing that our ſelves, which the malice, power and policy of all our adverſaries abroad, and enemies at home, by all theſe fourſcore yeers endeavors could never effect, whereby we ſhall expoſe the poore Proteſtant bleeding and panting cauſe in *Ireland* to deſtruction, and revive the hopes, yea and

the power of our former oppressors (who if they once get by againe, will teare us in pieces, like lyons long kept from their prey) and our ruine shall be unto after ages, the everlasting shamefull monuments of our blindnes and folly; that we should rise up like unnaturall Children, and cut the throate of our owne mother Nation; That wee should love bondage rather then liberty, all nations Countries and peoples, Papists, Jewes, Turks, Infidells, Devills (if I may say so) will sport at our misery: When God would deliver us, and hath delivered us from all their plots and projects, when in many plots they have had the neck of the whole Kingdome, as of one man, upon the block, and as easy it had been utterly to destroy it, had not the Almighty by a high hand of love and mercie prevented it? and shall wee betray our selves, then? shall the cloud of blood, which hath been a long time impending over our heads, be disburdened upon us, and our reeling, staggering and tottering Kingdome, shall fall, and fall, and none shall helpe it up. It now pants for life and breath, travailing with the peace, plenty, security, Religion, Lawes, liberties and comforts thereof; and those Worthies who daily by day give their utmost and unwearied attendance and assistance to further the birth, the strong God shall be unto them their front-guard, and rere-ward, goodnesse, power and mercie unto them, and their ammunition of rocks: and his displeasure the certain ruine and destruction of those, who unhappily, weakely and wickedly have brought it upon themselves.

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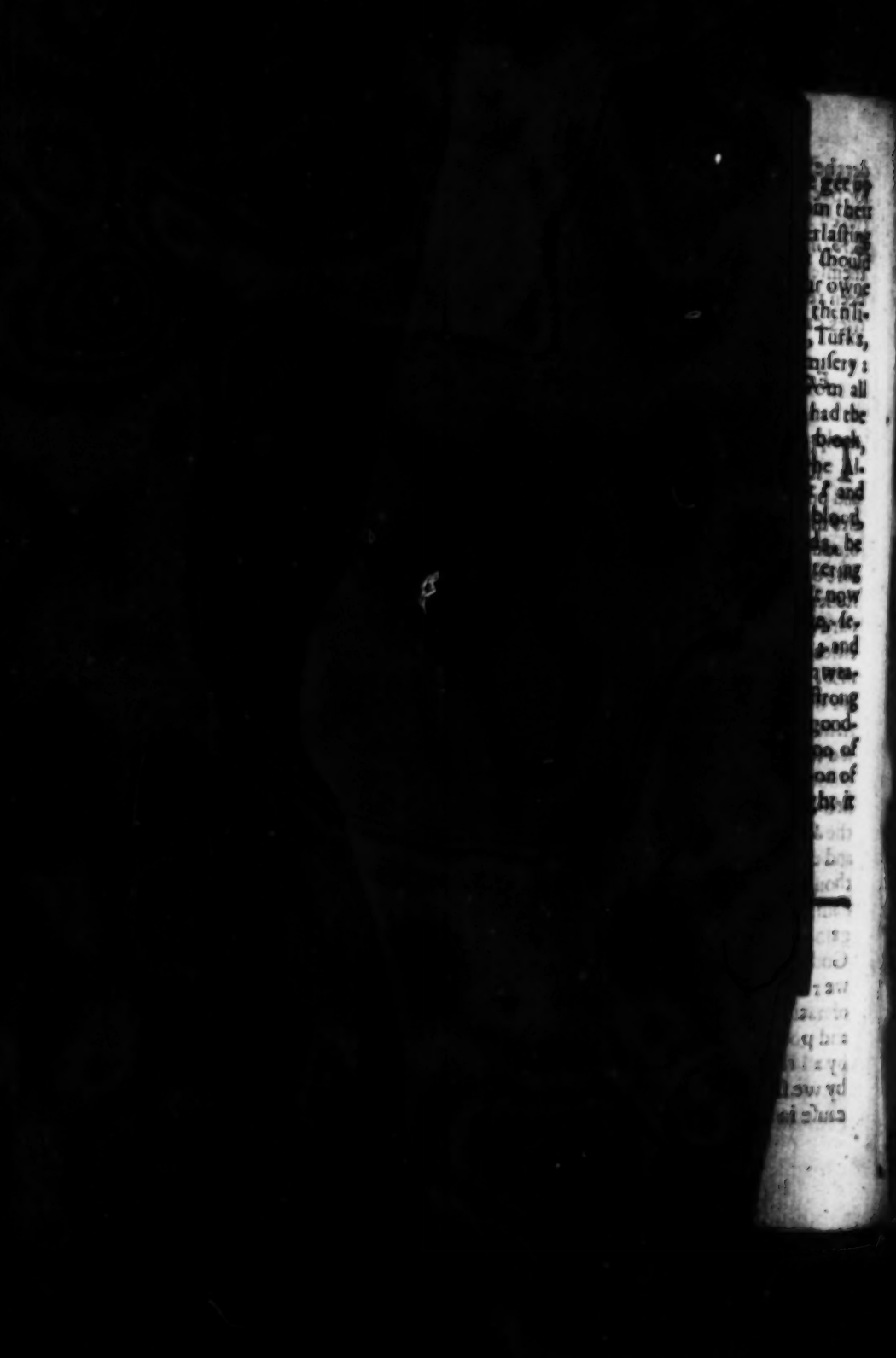


12

The Humble PETITION Of the Captaines, Officers, and Soldiers of the Trayned Bands, and Voluntiers in the County of *Buckingham*, Assembled at *Alisbury*, June 17. 1642.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament, the 24 of June, 1642. And commanded by them to be forthwith Printed and published.

H. Elsyng Clar. Parl. D. Com.

Together with a Letter from a Merchant of *Dublin*, to his Friend a worthy Gentleman in *Bassing-Hall* street, in London.

Relating the happy proceedings of the Protestant Army against the Rebels.

London Printed for *Ioseph Hunscott*, and *Iohn Wright*,

The Humble

PETITION

of the

To the Right

HONOVRABLE

The

LORDS and COMMONS

Assembled in PARLIAMENT,

The humble Petition of the Captaines, Officers and Souldiers of the Trayned Bands and Voluntiers, of the County of *Buckingham*, Assembled at *Ailsbury*, Iune 27. 1642.

Humbly sheweth,

THat they give you thanks from the depth of their hearts, for the great and many benefits they have already reaped from your no lesse chargeable, then indefatigable paines, and in particular for your necessary Ordinance of the *Militia*, on which, as we conceive (under God) our safety doth depend, unto which we most cheerefully submit, as is manifest by this dayes appearance, not onely of the Trained Bands, but of well neere a thousand Voluntiers, that make all demonstration of Obedience, as well to this, as all other Commands that shall come from your Honourable Houses, in opposition to the Popish

malignant Party at home, or any other power from abroad, notwithstanding the many visible discouragements from ill affected persons that make it their businesse to blemish the validity of your Authority, as also by the Lord Lieutenant's absence, contrary to the trust reposed in him.

Therefore we humbly implore the continuance of your care for our Safeties, and to appoint such a Lord Lieutenant, in whom we may confide, as surely you may in us, who are resolved to lay our lives and fortunes at your feet, in defence of the King and Parliament.

And we shall pray &c.

June, 24. 1642.

IT is desired that the Lords would joyne with this House, in nominating the Lord *Wharton* to be Lieutenant for the County of *Buckingham* in the place of the Lord *Paget*.

It is this day Ordered that this shall be forthwith Printed and Published.

H. Elsyng, Clerk. Parl. D. Com.

Tuesday

Tuesday the 7. Iunii, 1642.

Worthy Sir,

YEsterday I received your letters, which (as mine to yours were) wanted a date, I thanke you for your paines in your particular and exact relations therein conteined.

The distractions there with you, doe extreamely perplexus and discourage many men from particular undertakings, which would conduce to the common good, for whilst we feare the danger there, our hands are enfeebled for doing what many otherwise would adventure upon.

The Lord in his good time send an happy end to these troubles, the matters in Print are constantly sent by my Cosen *Nicholas Loftus*, to Sir *Adam* here, of which I doe participate, and therefore I shall excuse you of what they conteine, what else you know, I pray you impart unto me as convenience affords it selfe; our army doth not move untill Friday next, at which time they take the field, they are here in this City and in the Country round adjoyning about 14000. horse and foot; it is conceived they will march in three bodies, one by the way of the mountains, into the County of *Wicklow* and *Wexford*, where all the English Cowes are kept which remaine; another through the County of *Kildare*, on the west side of the mountains, towards the County of *Caterlaugh*, & then meeting with the former bodies, will both

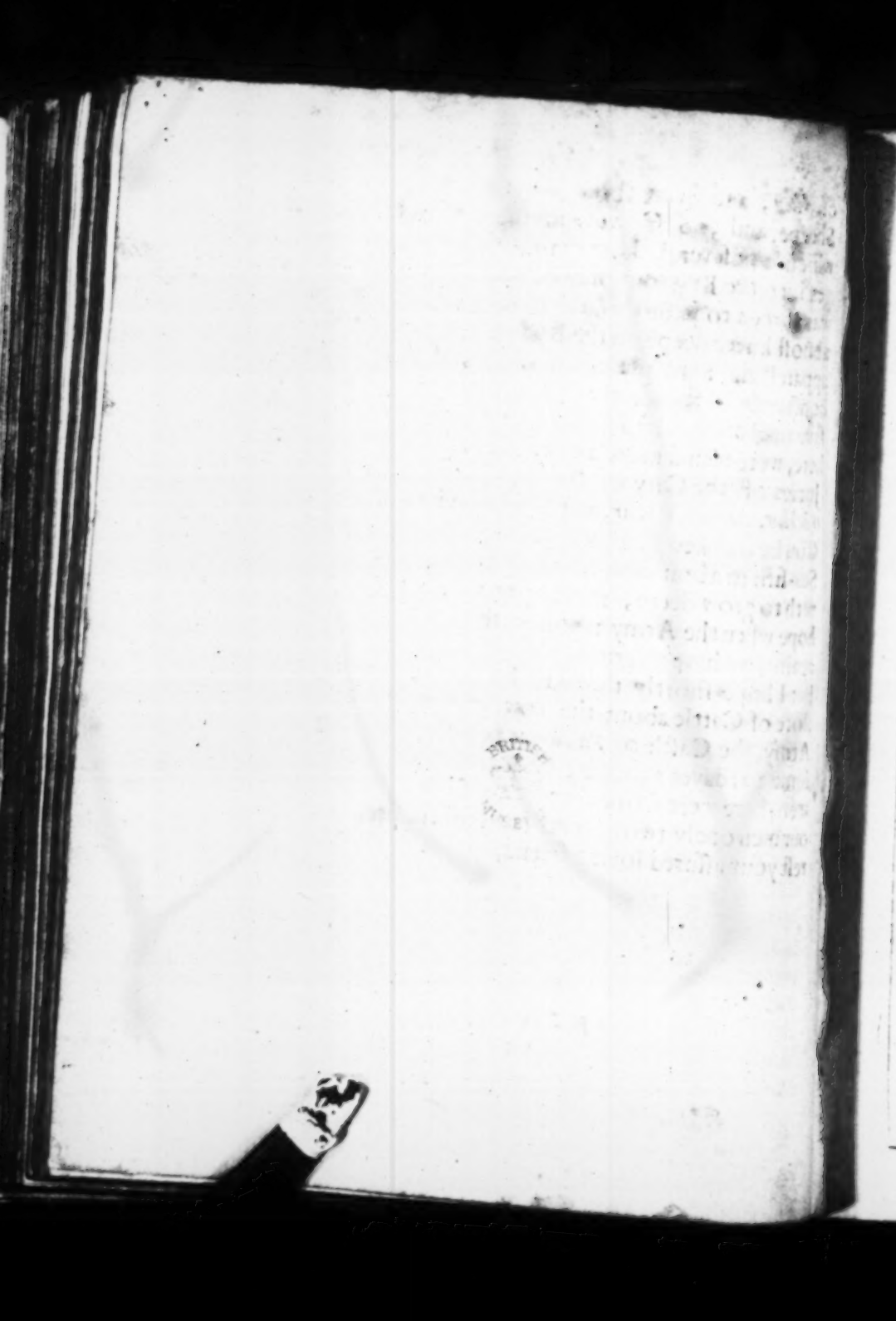
and take in the City of *Kilkeny*, and pillage all that rich Country, the third through the Counties of *Meath* and west*meath*, to *Mullingaine*, and from thence to raiſe the ſiege of *Athlone*; this I know not for certaine, other then by conjecture of ſome that have good grounds for what they ſay, and indeed it is a very probable way to effect the reducing of the pale. I heare that ſeverall of the Gentlemen of *Fingall*, are in great diſtreſſe, for the Iriſh in the North doe pillage them when they come hither, and ſend them home to fight, and here their rebellious wickedneſſe have made them incapable of mercy, ſo as they are enforced to ſhift from place to place, not daring to ſhew their heads; it is true as you have heard that *Walter Evers* the civilian is hanged, but I did neither conceive the man nor the matter ſo conſiderable, as to value either, for never worth relating. On Friday laſt one Lieutenant *Allen* went from the *Naas*, with a party of Musqueteirs, and tooke the Caſtle of *Iriſhtown*, belonging to one Mr. *Scidon*, and ſlew there one Captaine *Dongan* as they ſay, brother to Sir *John Dongan*: yeſterday being monday, Captaine *Michaell Iones* iſſued out of the *Naas*, with a 140. men, and tooke the ſtrong Caſtle of the *Downgs*, wherein were ſeverall of the Rebells, and ſlew them, and pillaged the place; from thence he went to a caſtle called *Blackwood*, where one Mr. *Edward Dongan* lived, and tooke and pillaged it alſo, and ſlew ſeverall men there, and returned home without the loſſe of any one man, having gained a great part of Cattell and much pillage; not long before he went over a great Bog, into the Iland of *Allen*, belonging to *Maurice Fitz-Gerald*

of

of *Allen*, and from thence brought with him 1400. Sheepe, and 300. Cowes, in ſpight of all the Rebels which kept ſeverall horneworkes made on the paſſages into the Bog, out of which he did beat them, and was forced to paſſe through the Bog, above two mile almoſt kneee deepe, in the Bog was found a trunke of apparell and ſome plate, our Courts of Juſtice doe ſit conſtantly in the terme, although we have little to do, ſave onely to endict Rebells, of which this laſt terme here, were found neere 2000. guilty by ſeverall grand Juries of the City of *Dublin*, Counties of *Dublin*, *Wicklow*, *Meath*, *Cavan*, and *Longford*, victualls wee have God be thanked, at as good rates, as any at *Cheſter*: and Sea-fiſh in aboundance, at eaſie rates, Corne beginneth to grow deere, it being at 18s. a pecke, but I hope when the Army is gon forth it will grow cheape againe, we have no good graſſe Beefe yet which is fat, but I hope ſhortly they will be good. here is great ſtore of Cattle about the Towne brought over by the Army, the Caſtle of *Baldongan* neere *Cordaff* was taken ſome 12. dayes agone by Colonell *Craford* and 500. men; here were ſlaine above 140. ſtout Rebels, and of our men onely two. This is all for the preſent, ſo I reſt your aſſured loving friend,

John Buſſe.

FINIS.



13

DIATRIBÆ.

DISCOVRSES
ON
DIVERS TEXTS OF
SCRIPTVRE:

Delivered upon ſeverall occaſions,

BY
JOSEPH MEDE, *B.D.* late Fellow of *Chriſts Colledge* in CAMBRIDGE.

Printed by the Authors own Copy.

The Contents you ſhall finde in the next leaſe.

LONDON,
Printed by *M. F.* for JOHN CLARK, and are to be ſold at his Shop under S. *Peters* Church in Cornhill.
M DC XLII.

The Contents of the ſeverall Texts *of Scripture, delivered in this Treatiſe.*

S. Matth. 6. 9.
Thus therefore pray ye, Our Father, &c. pag. 1.

Matth. 6. 9. Luke 11. 2.
Sanctified, or, hallowed be thy Name. p. 17.

Acts 17. 4.
There aſſociated themſelves to Paul *and* Silas *of the worſhipping Greeks a great multitude.* p. 82.

2 Peter 2. 4.
For if God ſpared not the Angels which ſinned, [ἀλλὰ σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τετηρημένους] *but caſt them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkneſſe to be reſerved unto Iudgement, &c.* ſo we tranſlate it:

To which of S. *Peter*, anſwers that of S. *Iude*, (as almoſt that whole Epiſtle doth, to this) verſe 6. *And the Angels which kept not their firſt eſtate* [or *principality*] *but left their own habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſſe unto the Iudgement of the great Day.* p. 99.

1 Cor. 4. 1.
Let a man ſo account of us, as of the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the Myſteries of God. p. 108.

S. Iohn 10. 20.
He hath a Devill, and is mad. p 120.

Proverbs 21. 16.
The Man that wandreth out of the way of underſtanding, ſhall remain in the Congregation of the Dead. בקהל רפאים, in cœtu Gigantum. p. 132.

Gen. 49. 10.
The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet, untill SHILOH *come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the People be.* p. 144.

Psalme 8. 2.
Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings, thou haſt ordained ſtrength, becauſe of thine enemies; that thou mighteſt quell the Enemy, and the Avenger. p. 155.

Zach. 4. 10.
Theſe ſeven are the Eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth. p. 172.

S. Mark 11. 17.
Is it not written, My Houſe ſhall be called a Houſe of Prayer, [πάσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι] *to all* [*the*] *Nations?* p. 187.

S. Iohn

S. John 4. 23.

But the hour commeth, and now is, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and truth; For the Father ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him. pag. 197.

S. Luke 24. 45.

Then opened he their underſtanding, that they might underſtand the Scriptures. 46. *And ſaid unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead the third day.* p. 210.

Exod. 4. 25.

Then Zipporah took a ſharp ſtone, and cut off the fore-skin of her ſon, and caſt it at his feet, and ſaid אתחלי בי חתן דמים, Sponſus ſanguinum tu mihi es. pag. 222.

Ezekiel 20. 20.

Hallow my Sabbath, and they ſhall be a ſign between me and you, to acknowledge that I Iehovah am your God. pag. 234.

1 Cor 11. 5.

Every woman praying or prophecying with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head. p. 246.

Titus 3. 5.

By the waſhing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghoſt. p. 262.

Iosh. 24. 26.

And (Ioſhuah) *took a great ſtone, and ſet it up there* (viz. in Sichem) *under the Oak, which was in the Sanctuary*

ctuary of the Lord: Alii, by the Sanctuary. Heb. בקדש.
pag. 274

1 Tim. 5. 17.

Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour: especially they that labour in the Word and Doctrine. p. 296.

Acts 2. 5.

And there were [κατοικοῦντες] *sojourning at Ierusalem Iews, devout men, out of every Nation under heaven.* p. 311.

1 Cor. 9. 14.

Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel; ἐκ τ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ζῆν.
pag. 324.

Three other Treatises by the same Author formerly Printed, which may be added, *viz.*

1. *The Name* Altar, *or* ΘΥΣΙΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ.

2. Churches, *that is,* Appropriate Places for Christian Worship.

1 Cor. 11. 22.

Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? [ἢ τὰς ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ τ Θεῦ καταφρονεῖτε;] *Or despise ye the* CHVRCH *of God?*

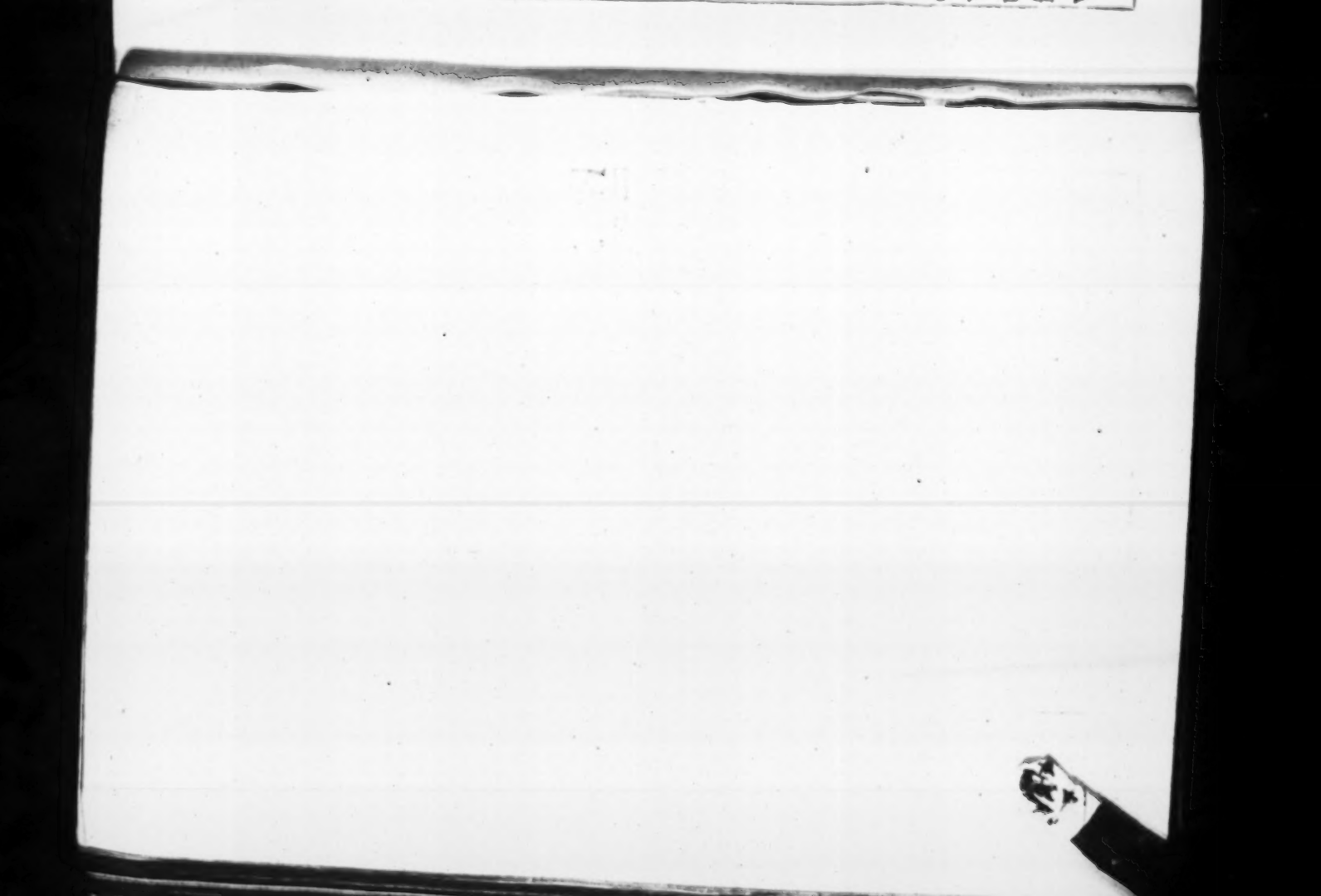
3. The Reverence *of* Gods HOVSE.

Ecclesiastes 5. 1.

Look to thy foot [or feet] *when thou commest to the House of God; and be more ready to obey, then to offer the sacrifice of fools; for they know not that they doe evill.*

Errata.

FOlio 9. *line* 10. testimonies, in, r. testimonies. In. *fol.* 24. *l.* 16, 18. the Hebrew words are false printed, and misplaced. *fol.* 87. 2. גרים תושבים, the words inverted, *fol* 88. *line* 8. שעד, r. שער. *fo.* 125. *line* 19. the Hebrew words are inverted. *line* 18. δαιμονιζόμενος r. δαιμονιζόμενοι. *fol.* 130. *line* 14. *siqui* r. *siquis*. *fol.* 150. *line* 11. יוך, r. ירך. *fol.* 162. *ult.* אשיב r. אויב *fol.* 184. in the margin the Hebrew is amisse. *fol.* 229. the Hebrew is transposed, and mis-printed. *fo.* 273. *line* 14. imitation, r. initiation. *fo.* 284. *line* 3. Acts 21. r Acts 16. *fol.* 334. *line* 21. τῦτοι, r. τῦτο.



DISCOVRSES ON DIVERS TEXTS of SCRIPTURE.

S. MATTHEW 6. 9.

Thus therefore pray ye, Our Father, &c.

IT was well hoped, after the queſtion about the lawfulneſſe and fitneſſe of a *ſet form of Prayer* had been ſo long debated in our Church, that the ſect of thoſe who oppoſed it, had been ere this well-nigh extinguiſhed; but experience tels us the contrary; that this fancy is not only ſtill living, but begins, as it were, to recover and get ſtrength afreſh: In which re-

gard, my diſcourſe, at this time, will not be unſeaſonable, if, taking my riſe from theſe words of our Saviour, I acquaint you, upon what grounds and example this practiſe of the Chriſtian Church hath been eſtabliſhed, and how frivolous and weak the reaſons are, which ſome of late doe bring againſt it.

To begin therefore; You ſee by the Text I have now read, that our bleſſed Saviour delivered a *ſet form* of *prayer* unto his Diſciples, and in ſo doing hath commended the uſe of a ſet form of prayer unto his Church; *Thus therefore* (ſaith he) *pray ye, Our Father which art in heaven, &c.*

Is not this a ſet form of prayer? and did not our Saviour deliver it to be uſed by his Diſciples? They tell us, No. For *thus*, ſay they, in this place is not thus to be underſtood, but for, in this manner, to this effect or ſenſe, or after this pattern; not in theſe words and ſyllables. To this I anſwer; It is true, that this form of prayer is a pattern for us to make other prayers by; but that this only ſhould be the meaning of our Saviours

viours *Thus*, and not the rehearſall of the words, I utterly deny: and I prove it out of the eleventh Chapter of S. *Luke*, where the ſame prayer is again delivered in theſe words, "Οταν προσεύχεσθε, λέγετε, *When you pray, ſay, Our Father which art in heaven* —— that is, do it in *hæc verba*. For what phraſe is there, to expreſſe ſuch a meaning if this be not? Beſides, in this of S. *Luke*, the occaſion would be conſidered. *It came to paſſe* (ſaith he) *as Ieſus was praying in a certain place, that, when he ceaſed, one of his Diſciples ſaid unto him, Lord teach us to pray, as Iohn alſo taught his Diſciples.* From whence it may not improbably be gathered, that this was the cuſtome of the Doctours of Iſrael, to deliver ſome certain *form* of *Prayer* unto their Diſciples, to uſe, as it were a badge and *Symbolum* of their Diſcipleſhip; at leaſt *Iohn Baptiſt* had done ſo unto his Diſciples; and thereupon our *Saviours* Diſciples beſought him, that he alſo would give them in like manner ſome forme of his making: that they might alſo pray with their Maſters ſpirit, as *Iohns* Diſciples did with theirs. For that either our

Saviours, or *Iohns* Diſciples knew not how to pray till now, were ridiculous to imagine; they being both of them Jews, who had their certain *ſet houres* of prayer, which they conſtantly obſerved, as the *third, ſixt,* and *ninth*. It was therefore a *forme* of *prayer* of their Maſters making, which both *Iohn* is ſaid to have given his Diſciples, and our Saviours Diſciples beſought him to give them.

For the fuller underſtanding whereof, I muſt tell you ſomething more, and the rather becauſe it is not commonly taken notice of; and that is, That this delivery of the *Lords prayer* in S. *Luke*, is not the ſame with that related by S. *Matthew*, but another, at another time, and upon another occaſion: That of S. *Matthew* in that famous Sermon of Chriſt upon the Mount, whereof it is a part; That of S. *Luke* upon a ſpeciall motion of the Diſciples at a time when himſelfe had done praying; that of *S. Matthew* in the ſecond; that of S. *Luke* in the third yeare after his Baptiſme: Conſider the Text of both, and you ſhall finde it impoſsible

poſsible to bring them into one, and the ſame: whence it follows, that the Diſciples, when it was firſt uttered, underſtood not, that their Maſter intended it for a *forme* of *prayer* unto them, but for a pattern or example only, or it may be to inſtruct them in ſpeciall, in what manner to ask forgiveneſſe of ſins: For if they had thought he had given them a *forme* of *prayer* then, they would never have asked him for one now; wherefore our Saviour this ſecond time utters himſelfe more expreſly, Ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε, *When yee pray, ſay, Our Father which art in heaven*——Thus their inadvertency becomes our confirmation; For as *Ioſeph* ſaid to *Pharaoh*, *The dreame is doubled unto Pharaoh, becauſe the thing is eſtabliſhed by God*; ſo may we ſay here; The delivery of this prayer was doubled unto the Diſciples, that they and we might thereby know the more certainly, that our Saviour intended and commended it for a *ſet forme* of *prayer* unto his Church.

Thus much of that ſet forme of Prayer, which our Saviour gave unto his Diſci-

ples, as a precedēt, & warrant to his Church to give the like forms to her Diſciples, or members; a thing which, from her infancy, ſhe uſed to doe. But becauſe her practiſe is called in queſtion, as not warranted by Scripture, let us ſee what was the practice of the Church of the *old Teſtament*, then whoſe example and uſe, we can have no better rule to follow in the *New*.

Firſt therfore, we find two *ſet forms* of *prayer*, or invocation, appointed by God himſelf in the Law of *Moſes*: One the Form wherewith the Prieſts were to bleſſe the people: *Num.* 6.23. *On this wiſe*, ſaith he, *ſhall Aaron and his ſons, bleſſe the children of Iſrael, ſaying unto them: The Lord bleſſe thee and keepe thee, the Lord make his face ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* Is not this a *ſet forme* of *Prayer*? For what is to *bleſſe*, but to *pray* over or invocate God for another?

The ſecond, is the forme of profeſsion and prayer to be uſed by him, who had paid his Tithes every third yeare, *Deut.* 26. 23. *O Lord God I have brought out the hallowed things*

things out of mine houſe, and alſo have given them unto the Levite, and unto the ſtranger, and Fatherleſſe, and unto the widow, according to all thy commandements which thou haſt commanded me: I have not tranſgreſſed thy Commandements, nor have I forgotten them. 14. *I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I taken away thereof for an uncleane uſe, &c.* 15. *Look downe from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bleſſe thy people Iſrael, and the Land which thou haſt given us, as thou ſwareſt to our Fathers, a Land that floweth with Milke and honey.*

But what need wee ſeek thus for ſcattered Formes, when we have a whole booke of them together? The Booke of *Pſalmes* was the Jewiſh Liturgie, or the chiefe part of the vocall ſervice wherewith they worſhipped God in the Temple; This is evident by the Titles of the Pſalms themſelves, which ſhew them to have beene commended to the ſeverall *Quires* in the ſame, *to Aſaph, to the ſonnes of Korah, to Ieduthun,* and almoſt forty of them, to the *Magiſter Symphoniæ* in generall. The like we are to conceive of thoſe which have

no titles; as for example, of the 105 and 96 Pſalmes, which, though they have no ſuch Inſcription in the Pſalme-booke, yet we finde 1 *Chron.* 16. 7. *That they were delivered by David into the hands of Aſaph and his Brethren* for formes to thank the Lord. This a man would think, were ſufficient to take away all ſcruple in this point; eſpecially, when we our ſelves, and al the reformed Churches, uſe to ſing the ſame Pſalmes, not onely as *ſet formes*, but ſet in Meeter, that is after a humane compoſure. Are not the Pſalmes ſet formes of confeſsion, of Prayer, and of Praiſing God? And in caſe there had beene no prayers amongſt them, yet what reaſon could be given, why it ſhould not be as lawfull to *pray* unto God in a ſet forme; as to *praiſe* him in ſuch a one? What therefore doe they ſay to this? Why, they tell us, the Pſalmes are not ſung in the Church unto God, but ſo rehearſed for inſtruction of the people onely; namely, as the Chapters, and leſſons are there read, and no otherwiſe. But, if either we doe, ought, or may ſing the

the Pſalmes in the Church, with the ſame end and purpoſe that the Church of the old Teſtament did, (and it were abſurd, to ſay we might not) this exception will not ſubſiſt. For what is more certaine, then that the Church of Iſrael uſed the Pſalmes for Formes of prayſing and invocating God? What mean elſe thoſe forms, *Cantemus Domino, Pſallite Domino*, and the like ſo frequent in them? But there are more direct and expreſſe teſtimonies, in the 1 *Chron.* 25. it is expreſly ſaid of *Ieduthun* and his ſonnes, that their office was, *to propheſie with a Harp, to give thanks and to praiſe the Lord.* In the ſecond of *Chron.* 30. 21. we read, *that the Levites and Prieſts prayſed the Lord day by day, ſinging with loud Inſtruments unto the Lord.* And as ye heard even now out of 1 *Chron.* 16. that *David*, at the time when he brought up the Ark unto Jeruſalem, then firſt delivered the 105. and 96. *Pſalms* into the hands *of Aſaph and his ſonnes to confeſſe or give thanks unto the Lord.* And laſtly, to leave no place for farther doubt, we read *Ezra* 3. 11. *That the Levites the ſonnes of Aſaph*

were

were ſet with Cymbals to praiſe the Lord, after the ordinance of David King of Iſrael. And that, *they ſung together by courſe, in prayſing and giving thanks unto the Lord, becauſe he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* For this reaſon, the 24. courſes or Quires, into which the ſingers of the temple were divided by King *David* to ſerve in their turnes, conſiſted each of them of twelve, according to the number of the tribes of Iſrael; that ſo every Tribe might have a mouth and voyce, to praiſe and to give thanks unto God for him in the Temple.

Thus we have ſeene, what warrant to *pray*, and call upon God in a *ſet forme* hath from the practiſe of the Church of God in the old Teſtament; And, if reaſon may have place; In the publike ſervice of God, where one is the mouth of many, there is none ſo proper and convenient. For how can the Miniſter be ſaid properly to be the mouth of the Congregation in prayer unto God, when the Congregatiō is not firſt made acquainted, and privy to what he is to render unto God in their names? Which in a *voluntary*

iuntary and *extemporary forme* of Prayer they are not, nor well can be. I am ſure neither ſo properly, nor conveniently, as in a *ſet forme*, which both they and the whole Church have agreed upon, and offer unto God at the ſame time, though in ſeverall places in the ſelfe-ſame forme and words: And this may be a ſecond reaſon; I meane from *Vniformity*; For how can the Church, being a myſticall Body, better teſtifie her unity before God, then in her uniformity in calling upon him? eſpecially our Saviour telling us, that if but *two or three ſhall agree together on earth, as touching any thing they ſhall aſk, it ſhall be done unto them of his Father which is in heavē*; So prevailable with Almighty God is the power of conſent in prayer.

Let us now, in the laſt place, ſee what reaſons they bring, who contend altogether for *voluntary prayer*, and would have no *ſet formes* uſed. Firſt, they ſay, it is the ordinance of God, that the Church ſhould be *edified* by the gifts of her Miniſters, as well in praying as preaching. *Ergo*, their prayers ſhould be *extemporary* or *voluntary*; becauſe in

in reading a *ſet forme* this gift cannot be ſhewn.

To this I anſwer: Firſt, that there is not, in this point, the ſame reaſon for *Prayer*, and for *Preaching*; for in prayer (I meane Publique) the Miniſter is the mouth of the Church unto God, and therefore it were convenient, they ſhould know what he puts up to God in their names; but in preaching, he is not ſo. Secondly, Why ſhould not the Paſtours and Miniſters of the Church, edify the Church by their gift of prayer, as well in compoſing a ſet forme of prayer for her uſe by generall agreement, as in uttering a voluntary or extemporary prayer in a particular Congregation? Thirdly, Are not the members of the Church to be edified, as well by the Spirit of the Church, as the Church or ſome part thereof by the Spirit of a member? But how can the Church edifie her members by her gift of prayer, otherwiſe then by a ſet form agreed upon by her conſent? Fourthly, Oſtentation of gifts is one thing, but edification by them another. Oſtentation of the gift of

prayer

prayer, is indeed beſt ſhewn in a voluntary or extemporary prayer; but the Church may be edified as well by a ſet forme; Yea, ſuch a forme in the publique ſervice of God is more edificative, then a voluntary. And that, both becauſe the Congregation is firſt made acquainted therewith, and ſecondly, becauſe they are better ſecured from being ingaged in ought, that might be unfit to ſpeak unto God, either for matter or manner, or ſuch as they would not have given their conſent to, if they had been aware of it. For, that extraordinary aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, which was in the Primitive and Apoſtolicall times, is long ſince ceaſed; And all men, to whom that office belongeth, to ſpeake to God for others, are not at all times diſcreet, and well adviſed, when they ſpeake to him at will, and *ex tempore*, but ſubject to miſcariage: Laſtly, I anſwer, That the Church is to be edified by the gift of her Miniſters in voluntary prayer, *loco & tempore*, in fit place, and upon fit occaſions, not in all places, and upon all occaſions. And thus much to this

this objection. But they object ſecondly; that the *Spirit* ought to be *free*, and *unlimited*, and that therefore a *Book* or ſet *forme* of *prayer*, which limits the ſpirit in praying, is not to be tolerated or uſed.

To this I anſwer: It is falſe, that the acting of the *Spirit* in one Chriſtian, may not be limited or regulated by the ſpirit of another; eſpecially, the ſpirit of a particular man in the publick worſhip, by the ſpirit of the Church, whereof he is a member. For doth not the Apoſtle tell us 1 *Cor.* 14. that even that extraordinary ſpirit of Prophecy, uſuall in his time, might be limited by the ſpirit of another Prophet: *Let the Prophets*, ſaith he, *ſpeak two or three, and let the other judge*: *If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace.* Is not this a limiting? He gives a reaſon: *For the ſpirits of the Prophets*, ſaith he, *are ſubject to the Prophets.* Beſides, are not the ſpirits of the people, as well limited and determined by a voluntary prayer, when they joyne therein with their Miniſter, as they are by a ſet forme? True; the ſpirit of the Miniſter is then

then free; but theirs is not ſo, but tied and led by the ſpirit of the Miniſter, as much as if he uſed a ſet forme. But to elude this, they tell us, that the Queſtion is not of limiting the ſpirit of the *people*, but of the *Miniſter* onely; For, as for the people, no more is required of them, but to joyn with their Miniſter, and to teſtifie it, by ſaying *Amen*; but the ſpirit of the Miniſter ought to be left free, and not to bee limited. But where is this written? that the one may not be limited as well as the other. We heard the Apoſtle ſay even now, *The ſpirit of the Prophets, is ſubject to the Prophets*; If in prophecying, why not in praying? And what ſhew of reaſon can be given, why the ſpirit of a particular Miniſter in the publick worſhip of the Church, may not, yea ought not to be limited, and regulated by the ſpirit of the Church repreſentative, as well as the ſpirit of a whole Congregation, by the ſpirit of a particular Miniſter? For every particular Miniſter, is as much ſubordinate to the ſpirit of the Church repreſentative, as the ſpirit of the Congre-

gation

gation is to his; So much for this objection.

There remaineth yet a third, which may be anſwered in two or three words. No ſet forme of prayer, ſay they, can ſerve for all occaſions: What then? why may it not be uſed for all ſuch occaſions as it ſerves for? if any ſudden and unexpected occaſion happen, for which the Church cannot provide, the ſpirit of her Miniſters is free: Who will forbid them to ſupply in ſuch a caſe, that by a voluntary and arbitrary forme, which the Church could not provide for in a ſet forme? And this is what I intended to ſay of this argument.

THE

THE SANCTIFICATION OF GODS NAME.

MATTH. 6. 9. LUKE 11. 2.

Sanctificetur nomen tuum.

Sanctified, or hallowed be thy Name.

ALthough I make no queſtion, but that which we ſo often repeat unto Almighty God in our daily prayers, is for the generall meaning thereof, by the moſt of us, in ſome competent meaſure underſtood: Yet becauſe by a more full and diſtinct explication, the knowledge of ſome may be improved, and the meditations of others occaſioned to a further ſearch: I hope

I shall not doe amisse, nor be thought to have chosen a theame, either needlesse, or not so fit for this Auditory; if I shall enquire what that is we pray for, in this first Petition of the Prayer our Lord hath taught us, when we desire, *That Gods Name may be sanctified:* For perhaps we shall finde more contained therein, then is commonly taken notice of.

The words are few, and therefore shall need no other Analyse, then what their very number presents unto us, *viz. Gods Name*, and the *sanctifying thereof*; *Sanctificetur Nomen tuum.* I will begin first with the last in order, but first in nature, *Nomen tuum*, *Gods Name*. By which, according to the style of holy Scripture, we are to understand in this place, first of all, *God* himselfe, or his sacred Deity, to wit, abstractly expressed, according to the style of eminency and dignity; *i. Dei ἀξίωμα*, *The Divine Majesty*; as we are wont for the King, to say *His Majesty*, or the *Kings Majesty*, and of other persons of honour and eminency, *Their Highnesse*, *Their Honour*, *His Excellency*, and the like; So of God *His Name*, and sometimes with the self-same meaning, *His Glory*;

Glory, as *Ier.*2. 11. *Hath any Nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? but my people have changed their Glory* (*i.* their God) *for that which is good for nought.* So *Pſalme* 106.20. of the Calf made in the Wilderneſſe: *They changed their Glorie into the ſimilitude of an Oxe that eateth graſſe.* And S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 1. 23. *They changed the Glory* (*i.* the Majeſty) *of the incorruptible God into an Image made like to corruptible man, &c.* Such is the notion, but much more frequent, of *Gods Name.* In a word *Nomen Dei*, in this kinde of uſe, is nothing elſe, but *Divinum Numen.* Whence it is, that in Scripture, *To call upon the Name of God, To blaſpheme the Name of God, To love his Name, To ſweare by his Name, To build a Temple to his Name, for his Name to dwell there*: And in the New Teſtament, *To beleeve in the Name of the Lord Ieſus, To call upon the Name of the Lord Ieſus*; theſe I ſay, and the like expreſſions, have no other meaning, then to doe theſe things to the Divine Majeſty, to the Lord Jeſus, whoſe is that *Name above every Name, whereat every knee muſt bow.* Accordingly here, *Sanctificetur Nomen tuum, Hallowed be thy Name*, is as much as to ſay, *Sanctificetur Numen*

tuum, Sanctified bee thy Divine Majeſty.

Secondly, under the *Name of God* here to be ſanctified or hallowed, underſtand, beſides the Majeſty of his Godhead, that alſo, *ſuper quod invocatum eſt Nomen ejus*, whereupon his Name is called; or that which is called by his Name, (as we in our Bibles commonly expreſſe this phraſe of Scripture;) that is, all whatſoever is Gods, or God is the Lord and owner of by a peculiar right; ſuch as are things ſacred, whether they be perſons, or whether things by diſtinction ſo called, or Times, or Places, which have upon them a relation of peculiarneſſe towards God. For ſuch as theſe are ſaid in Scripture, *To have the Name of God called upon them*, or *To be called by his Name*; that is, To be His. Thus we read in Scripture, of an Houſe which had the Name of God upon it, or which was called by his Name, that is of Gods Houſe, (1 *Kings* 8. 43. *Ier.*7.10, *&c.*) Of a City upon which the Name of God was called or named, to wit, the Holy City, Jeruſalem the City of the great King, the Lord of hoaſts, (*Ier.*25.29. *Dan.*9.18.) Of an Ark upon which the

the Name of God the Lord was called (1 *Chro.* 13.6. 2 *Sam.*6.2.) that is, the Lords Ark, or the Ark of his Covenant, as it is elſewhere named; Of a people upon which the Name of the Lord was called, or which were called by his Name (*Deut.*28.10. *Dan.*9.19. and elſewhere) that is, were his peculiar and holy people; as is ſaid in like manner, and with like meaning of the Church of the New Teſtament, *Iames* 2.7. *Acts* 15.17. I repreſent not theſe places of Scripture at large, becauſe I know that every eare that is acquainted with Scripture, can beare witneſſe unto them. And for the meaning of this expreſsion of Gods Name to be called upon a thing, or a thing to be called by his Name, that it is all one as to ſay it *to be His*, (beſides the evidence of the matter whereabout it is uſed) appeares by the ſame phraſe uſed in two other places, of the like relation of men to that which is theirs, as *Gen.*48.16. Where *Iacob* bleſsing *Ioſephs* ſons ſaith, "*The Angell which redeemed me* "*from all evill, bleſſe the lads, and let my name be* "*called upon them*; That is, let them be mine, namely, as *Reuben* and *Simeon* are mine, as he

ſaith a little before; for they are words of adoption. Again, in the fourth of *Eſay*, where it is ſaid, "*That ſeven women ſhould take hold of* "*one man, and ſay, We will eat our own bread, and* "*weare our own apparell; onely let thy Name be cal-* "*led upon us, to take away our reproach*; That is, Doe thou own us, or let us be thine, that it may not be a reproach unto us, that we have no husband. The Ancients were wont to ſet the Names of the Owners upon their houſes, and other poſſeſsions; which they called *Tituli*, Titles: *Chryſologus Serm.*145. *Sicut dominos prædiorum limitibus affixi Tituli proloquuntur. S. Auguſtine* in *Pſal.*21. *Quando potens aliquis invenerit Titulos ſuos, nonne jure rem ſibi vendicat, & dicit, Non poneret titulos meos, niſi res mea eſſet?* Whether this phraſe of Scripture, of Gods Name to be called or named upon a thing, hath reference unto any ſuch cuſtome, I cannot affirme, but ſurely the meaning is the ſame; to wit, that God is the Lord and Proprietar of them. And thus ye have heard what is this *Name of God* we pray here to be ſanctified; to wit, a twofold Name: Firſt, His Name and Majeſty which we call upon:

Secondly,

Secondly, that alſo which is called by his Name: The firſt we may call his *Perſonall*, the other his *Denominative* or *participated Name.*

Having learned what *Nomen Dei* importeth, and ſo cleared the Object of what we pray for, let us next enquire, What that is, which the word *Sanctifie*, or *To be ſanctified*, implieth, being that which our vote witneſſeth, ought to be done thereunto. And this I intended for the main and principall Argument of my preſent Diſcourſe, being a matter not ſo well traced as the former, and perhaps not altogether freed of obſcurity and difficulty to be underſtood. For our more certain and aſſured diſcovery whereof, we will firſt examine the abſtract thereof, *Sanctity*, and finde out the notion of it; namely, what is the *ratio formalis*, the formall ſtate, or nature of that which the Scripture entitleth in the generall, קדוש or ἅγιον, that is, *Holy*; not regarding what notion the Greeks or Latines had reſpect to in their Languages; but what the holy Scripture properly intendeth under that *name*: For becauſe *to be ſanctified* can have but theſe two ſenſes, either *To be made holy*, or *To be*

used and done unto according to, or *as becommeth its holinesse*; and that the Majesty of God, which is the prime object of this Act, is not capable of the first, (*viz.* to be made holy) but of the second onely: If we therefore once rightly understand what is the condition and property of *Sanctity*, according to the notion of Scripture; we shall not be long ignorant, what it is either for the Name or Majesty of God, or that which is called by his Name *to be hallowed*, or *sanctified*, namely, to be done unto according to their Holinesse.

Now *R. David Kimchi* upon the 56 of *Esay. ver.* 2. [" *Blessed is the man that keepeth the Sab-* " *bath from polluting it*] hath these words, " הימים קדוש שבם להבדילו משאד. *To sanctifie the* " *Sabath is to separate or distinguish it frō other daies.* " הוא ענין הבדלו מאתר במעלה כי כן כל לשון קדושה. " *Because all words of sanctity imports a thing sepa-* " *rated or divided from other things, by way of pre-* " *eminence or excellency.* Thus the *Rabbi.* And that this which he saith is true, namely, that *sanctity* consists in *discretion* and *distinction* from other things, by way of exaltation and pre-eminence, may appeare by these instances and

and examples, which I ſhall now produce out of Scripture.

And firſt from that Law touching the holy oyle, *Exod.* 30. 31. where, after the compoſition thereof deſcribed; "*This* (ſaith the Lord) "*ſhall be an holy anointing oyle unto me*: What is "that? why, it follows, *Upon mans fleſh ſhall it* "*not be powred, neither ſhall ye make any other like* "*it, after the compoſition thereof. It is Holy, there-* "*fore it ſhall be Holy unto you.* That is, As this Oyle is Holy and diſcrete from other Oyles, ſo ſhall it accordingly by you be uſed with difference and diſcrimination: For the Text goes on; "*Whoſoever compoundeth any like it, or* "*putteth any of it upon a ſtranger*, (that is, upon any beſides thoſe it was appropriated to) "*ſhall be cut off from his people.* What elſe meanes all this, but that this Oyle ſhould be a ſingular or peculiar Oyle, ſet apart and diſtinguiſhed from all other Oyles, both in its compoſition and uſe, and that to be ſuch, was to be Holy or Sacred?

The like we ſhall finde in the 35. *verſe* of the ſame Chapter, concerning the Holy perfume there deſcribed: "*Thou ſhalt make it*, ſaith

ſaith he, (to wit, the ingredients he afore mentioned) "*a perfume, a confection, after the art of*
"*the Apothecary, tempered together; pure and Holy.*
"verſe 37. *You ſhall not make to your ſelves* (*i.* not
"for your own uſe) *according to the compoſition*
"*thereof. It ſhall be unto you holy for the Lord.*
"ver. 38. *Whoſoever ſhall make the like unto it,*
"*to ſmell thereto, ſhall be cut off from his people.*

But above all others this notion of ſanctity or holineſſe is moſt expreſſely intimated and taught us in thoſe divine periphraſes or circumlocutions, which the Lord himſelf more then once makes of an *Holy People*, as *Lev.*20. 24. ſpeaking on this manner; *I am the Lord your God which have ſeparated you from other people.*-- *And ye ſhall be Holy unto me: for I the Lord am Holy, and have ſevered you from other people, that ye ſhould be mine.* Mark here, that to *ſeparate* is to make *Holy*, and that to be *Holy* is to be *ſeparated* from others of the ſame rank. Again, *Deut.*26. 18,19. *The Lord hath avouched thee* (to wit, Iſrael) *this day to be his peculiar* (or appropriate) *people, as he hath promiſed thee.* ——— *And to make thee high above all Nations, which he hath made, in praiſe, in name, and in honour; namely, that thou*

thou maiſt be an Holy people unto the Lord thy God, as he hath ſpoken. What is this but Rabbi *Kimchies* definition almoſt *verbatim?* That to be ſacred or *Holy* is to be *ſeparated* or ſet apart from other things by way of excellence; or which is all one, To be ſet in ſome ſtate of ſingularity, or appropriatedneſſe, whereby it is advanced above the common condition of things of the ſame order. He that will, may compare alſo two other paſſages, *Deut.*7 6. & 14.2. parallels to thoſe I have produced; where to be an holy, and to be a peculiar people, are made one and the ſame, or the one expounded by the other.

It may be yet further confirmed by comparing *Deut.* 19. 2,7. with *Ioſhuah* 20. 7. For whereas in the former of theſe places it is ſaid concerning the Cities of refuge: *Thou ſhalt ſeparate*, הבדיל, *three Cities for thee, in the midſt of thee*: In *Ioſhuah*, where this commandement is put in execution, we read in ſtead of *ſeparated*, יקדשו, *i. they ſanctified three Cities, Kedeſh, Shechem, and Hebron.* Where that the one is equivalent to the other, the *Seventy* ſo well underſtood, that even in this place of

of *Ioſhuah*, for יקדישו, which is, *Sanctificarunt*, they rendred * διέτηλαν, *ſeparârunt*, or *diſcreverunt*.

* By which they are wont otherwiſe to render the verb בדל, or הבדיל.

The ſame notion of Holineſſe may be gathered from the Antitheſis, or oppoſite thereunto, to wit, *unholy*, or uncleane, which the Scripture is wont to expreſſe by the name of *Common*. So S. *Peter* in his Viſion, *Acts* 10. "*Lord*, ſaith he, *I have never eaten any thing that* "*is common or unclean*, Οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν "ἢ ἀκάθαρτον. For know, that becauſe that which is *Holy* ought to be kept pure and cleane; or rather, becauſe cleanneſſe imports a ſeparation from filth, as Holineſſe doth from common, thence clean and holy, and ſo alſo unholy and unclean are uſed the one for the other: whence 1 *Cor.* 7.14. Unclean and Holy are oppoſed. But to goe on; The voice from heaven anſwers S. *Peter* in the ſame language: "*What God hath cleanſed* (that "is, ſanctified) σὺ μὴ κόινου, *account not thou common*. So in 1 *Mac. Chap.* 1. κτήνη κοινὰ are unclean beaſts, and φαγεῖν κοινὰ, to eat unclean things.

The like Antitheſis of *holy* and *common* is to be found *Heb.* 10. 29. where the Apoſtle ſaith of

of a Beleever or Chriſtian that lives an ungodly and wicked life: "*He hath trodden under* "*foot the Son of God, and counted the bloud of the* "*Covenant wherewith he was ſanctified,* קדש, *as a* "*common thing*; that is, he had profaned it. Our tranſlation rendreth it *an unholy thing*, the oppoſition thereof to *ſanctified*, witneſſing that to be the meaning. Now then, if to be unholy or unclean be to be common, ſurely it follows by the Law of oppoſition, that to be holy, is to be ſeparated from the common, or to be ſingular and appropriate in ſome manner or other.

Laſtly, it is to be obſerved, that whereas in the Law given *Numbers* 6. concerning the Vow of Nazariſme (which ſignifies *ſeparation*, of *Nazar*, to ſeparate) the words, *To ſeparate*, and *ſeparation* come very often in the Text; the vulgar Latine renders for them above ten times, *Conſecrare*, *conſecratio*, *ſanctificare*, and *ſanctificatio*: which ſhews, that this notion, namely, that Holineſſe conſiſts in a ſtate of ſeparation, is no new conceit, but ſuch as Antiquity took notice of.

As the 70. once or twice in this place, and elſewhere ſometimes render the ſame word.

The nature of Holineſſe, wherein it conſiſteth,

ſifteth, according to the idiome of Scripture being thus found out and cleared, that which was aimed at in this inquiſition, to wit, what the ſame meaneth by *To ſanctifie*, and *to be ſanctified*, will be no hard matter to reſolve. For *ſanctity*, and *to ſanctifie* being Conjugates, or Denominatives, as Logicians call them, the one openeth the way to the knowledge of the other. If therefore Sanctity or Holineſſe be a condition of diſcretion and diſtinction from other things, as we have ſhewed it to be; then *To ſanctifie* muſt either be to put a thing into that ſtate, which we call, *To conſecrate*; or if it be ſuch already, *To uſe*, and doe unto it, as becomes the ſanctity thereof; that is *Habere cum diſcrimine*, to put a difference between it and other things by way of excellency, or in a dignifying wiſe, by appropriating and ſevering it in the uſe thereof from things of ordinary and common rank: or, which is all one, To uſe it ſingularly, appropriately, and in a word, uncommonly. For not to uſe it ſo, it being ſuch, were to abuſe it; which the Scripture cals *to prophane*; to ſanctifie, and to prophane being oppoſites. Whence

Ezek.

*Ezek.*22.26. *To prophane*, is expounded by *not putting a difference*: "*The Prieſts* (ſaith the "Lord) *have violated my Law, and have profha-*"*ned my holy things; they have put no difference be-*"*the holy and prophane.*

This to be *to ſanctifie*, all the places almoſt which I have alledged out of the Law, for the notion and nature of ſanctity, doe apparently proclaime: for the one is ſo nearly linked to the other, that they could not well be ſeparated. Thus was Iſrael, Gods holy people, to ſanctifie themſelves by a diſcriminative manner of living, or uſance, becauſe the Lord their God had diſcriminated or ſeparated them from other people. So *Lev.*20.24,25,&c. "*I am the Lord your God, which have ſeparated you* "*from other people. Ye ſhall therefore put difference* "*between clean beaſts and unclean, and between un-*"*clean fowles, and clean: and ye ſhall not make your* "*ſouls abominable by beaſt or by fowl, or by any man-*"*ner of living thing that creepeth on the ground,* "*which I have ſeparated from you as unclean. But* "*yee ſhall be holy unto me; for I the Lord am holy,* "*and have ſevered you from other people, that ye* "*ſhould be mine.*

After

After the ſame manner were the *Holy Ointment*, and *Holy Perfume* or Incenſe to be ſanctified by a diſcriminative, ſingular, appropriate uſance of them, and not to be uſed as other Oyntments & Perfumes: to wit, the one not to be poured upon mans fleſh, nor the other uſed for mans ſmelling unto; yea none of the like compoſition to the one or the other, to be made for any prophane or common uſe, upon pain of his being cut off from his people, who ſhould dare to doe it. That is, not the particular or *Individuum* onely, but even the whole kinde of that compoſition was to be accounted ſacred; otherwiſe this caution needed not, ſince for the Individuall, all ſacred things ought to be appropriate and incommunicable in their uſe.

And to this notion it is not altogether improbable, but the Apoſtle may allude, 1. *Cor.* 11. 29. when he expreſſeth the prophanation of the *Holy Supper* in comming to it, and uſing it as a common banquet, by μὴ διακρίνων τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου, by *not differencing the Lords body*; *i.* not ſanctifying it, or uſing it, as became ſo holy a thing.

HITHERTO

HITHERTO I have conſidered the words of my Text apart: but now let us put them again together, and ſee, how the Name of God ought to be Sanctified, in the manner now ſpecified, both in it ſelfe, and in the things which it is called upon; as in the beginning I diſtinguiſhed. For the better underſtanding of which, we are to take notice of a twofold *Holineſſe*; One originall, abſolute and eſſentiall in God; the other, derived or relative in the things which are *His*, properly (according to the uſe of the Latine) called *Sacra, Sacred things*. Both theſe have their ſeverall and diſtinct Sanctifications belonging unto them. For whatſoever is Holy, ought to be ſanctified, according to the condition and proportion of the Holineſſe it hath.

To ſpeak of them diſtinctly; The firſt, originall or abſolute *Holineſſe* is nothing elſe, but the incommunicable eminency of the divine Majeſty, exalted above all, and divided from all other ἀξιώματα, or Eminences whatſoever. For that which a man takes to be, and makes account of, as his God, (whether it be ſuch indeed, or by him fancyed onely) he a-

ſcribes unto it, in ſo doing, a condition of eminency, above, and diſtinct from all other eminencies whatſoever, that is of *Holineſſe*. Hence it comes, that we find the LORD the God of Iſrael, and the onely true God, in Scripture ſo often ſtyled *Sanctus Iſraelis*, The *Holy One of Iſrael*, that is, Iſraels moſt eminent & incommunicable one, or which is all one, *His God*: as namely *Pſal.* 89. 18. *The Lord is our defence, the* HOLY ONE *of Iſrael is our King.* Eſay 17. 7. "*At that day ſhall a man look unto his* MAKER "*and his eyes ſhall have reſpect to the* HOLY "ONE *of Iſrael.* Habak. 1. 12. *Art not thou from everlaſting, O* LORD *my God, mine* HOLY ONE? Agreeably whereunto the Lord is ſaid alſo now and then, *To ſweare by his* HOLINESS, that is, by himſelfe: as in the Pſalm before alledged v. 35. "*Once have I ſworn by my* HOLI-"NESS, *that I will not lie unto David, &c.* Amos 4. 2 "*The Lord God hath ſworn by his* HOLINESS, *that* "*lo, the dayes ſhall come upon you that he will take you* "*away with hooks, &c.* According to this ſenſe I ſuppoſe alſo that of *Amos* 8. 7. is to be underſtood: *The* LORD *hath ſworn by the Excellency of Iacob* (that is, Jacobs moſt eminent & incommunicable

See Eſay 24. 14. Micah 4. 3.

municable One, or by *Iacobs* HOLY ONE) "*Surely I will never forget any of their works, &c.* For indeed the Gods of the Nations were not properly & truly *Holy*, becauſe but partially & reſpectively only; Foraſmuch as the Divine eminency which they were ſuppoſed to have, was, even in the opinion of thoſe who worſhipped them, cómon to others with them, & ſo not diſcriminated from, nor exalted above all. But the God of Iſrael was ſimply and abſolutely ſuch, both in himſelf and to them ward who worſhipped him, as who might acknowledge no other; and therefore κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and by way of diſtinction from all other Gods called *Sanctus Iſraelis*, *The Holy one of Iſrael*; *i.* That ſole abſolute, and onely incommunicable One, or ἀκοινώνητον Ὄνομα (as the Author of the Booke of *Wiſdome* cals him *chap.* 14. v. 21.) that God exalted above all, and divided from all, without pareil, there being no other ſuch beſides him. *There is none Holy as the Lord* (ſaith Hannah) *for there is none beſides thee,* [Lxx. none Holy beſides thee.] *Neither is there any* ROCK *like our God.* Wherefore it is to be obſerved, that although the Scripture every 1 Sam. 2. 2

where vouchſafes the Gentiles *Dæmons* the name of *Gods*, yet it never, I think, cals them Holy Ones, as indeed they were not. Thus you ſee that as *Holineſſe* in generall imports a ſtate of eminency and ſeparation, ſo this of God, as I have deſcribed it, diſagrees not from that generall notion, when I affirme it to conſiſt in a ſtate of peerleſſe or incommunicable Majeſty: for that which is ſuch, includes both the one and the other. But would you underſtand it yet better? Apply it then to his attributes whereby he is known unto us, and know that *The Lord is Holy*, is as much to ſay, He is a Majeſty of peerleſſe Power, of peerleſſe wiſdome, of peerleſſe Goodneſſe, and ſo of the reſt. Such a one is our God, and ſuch is his *Holineſſe*.

Now then to *Sanctify* this peerleſſe Name or Majeſty of his, muſt be by doing unto him according to that which his Holineſſe challengeth in reſpect of the double importance thereof: namely, To ſerve and glorifie him; becauſe of his eminency; and to do it with a ſingular, ſeparate, aud incommunicated worſhip, becauſe it is Holy. Not to doe the former

former is *Irreligion* and *Atheiſme*, as not to acknowledge God to be the chiefe and Soveraigne eminency: not to obſerve the ſecond is *Idolatry*. For as the Lord our God is a ſingular, and peerleſſe Majeſty, diſtinguiſhed from, and exalted above all things and eminencies elſe whatſoever; So muſt his worſhip be ſingular, incommunicable, and proper to him alone. Otherwiſe, (ſaith *Ioſhuah* to the people) You cannot ſerve the Lord. Why? "*For* (ſaith he) *He is an Holy God: he is a jealous* "*God* (that can endure no corrivall) *he will not* "*forgive your tranſgreſſions nor your ſins, if yee forſake the Lord and ſerve ſtrange gods, &c.* Ioſh. 24. 19.

Whence in Scripture, thoſe who communicate the worſhip given unto him with any beſides him, or together with him, by way of Object (i.) whether immediately, or but mediately, are deemed to deny his incomparable Sanctity, and therefore ſaid, to prophane his Holy Name: See *Ezek.* 20. 39. 43. 7, 8.

In a word; all that whole immediate Duty and ſervice, which we ow unto God, whether inward or outward, contained under the name of Divine worſhip, (when either we

confeſſe, praiſe, pray unto; call upon or ſwear by his Name) yea all the worſhip both of men and Angels, is nothing elſe but to acknowledge in thought, word, and worke this peerleſſe preheminence of his power, of his wiſdome, of his goodneſſe and other attributes, that is, *His Holineſſe*; by aſcribing and giving unto him that which we give and aſcribe to none beſides him, that is, *To ſanctifie his moſt Holy Name*: This is that the Holy Ghoſt would teach us, when deſcribing how the Seraphims worſhip and glorifie God *Eſa.* 6. he brings them in crying one unto another "*Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of hoſtes, 'the whole earth is full of his glory*; that is, Sanctifiing him. From whence is derived that which we repeat every day in the Hymne: *To thee all Angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein; To thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually doe cry, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God of Sabaoth; Heaven and earth are full of the Majeſty of thy Glory.*

And becauſe the patterne of Gods holy worſhip is not to be taken from earth, but from heaven; the ſame Spirit therefore in the Apocalypſe expreſſeth the worſhip of God in

in the new Teſtament with the ſame forme of hallowing or holying his Name which the heavenly Hoſte uſeth. For ſo the 4. *Animalia* repreſenting the Catholique Church of Chriſt in the 4. quarters of the world, are ſaid when they give glory, honor and thanks to him that ſitteth upon the throne and liveth for ever and ever; to doe it by ſinging day and night this *Triſagium*; *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almightie, which was, and is, and is to come*: that is, the ſumme of all that they did was but to agnize his Sanctity or Holineſſe, or which is all one, *to Sanctifie his holy Name*. When therefore the ſame 4 *Animalia* are afterwards brought in chanting: *Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlaine, to receive power, riches, wiſdome, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing*. And againe; *Bleſſing, honour, glory and power be unto him that ſitteth upon the Throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever*: all is to be underſtood, as comprehended within this generall *Doxologie*, as being but an exemplification thereof; and therefore the Elogies or blazons mentioned therein to be taken, according to the ſtyle of Holineſſe, in an excluſive ſenſe, of ſuch pre- Apoc. 4.

rogatives as are peculiar to God alone.

And according to this notion of ſanctifying Gods name which I contend for, would the Lord have his Name Sanctified *Eſa.* 8. 13. when he ſaith; "*Fear ye not their Fear* (that is, "the Idolaters Σεβάσματα or Gods; for ſo *Fear* "here ſignifies, to wit, the thing feared) *neither dread ye it*: *But Sanctifie the Lord of Hoſts himſelfe, and let him be your Feare, and let him be your Dread*; *i.* your God.

As Gen. 31 42. 43. Pſal 76. 11. So the Chaldee uſes their דחילא and more then once renders *JAH* the name of God by it.

Againe chap. 29. 23. *They ſhall ſanctifie my Name*, (ſaith he) *even Sanctifie the holy One of Iacob, and ſhall feare the God of Iſrael.* The latter words ſhew the meaning of the former.

The like we have in the firſt Epiſt. of S. *Peter* chap. 3 v. 15. ✠ ΦΟΒΟΝ αὐτῶν (i. *Gentilium*) μὴ φοβηθῆτε, μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε, &c. *Fear ye not their Fear, nor be in dread thereof*, (that is, Fear not nor dread yee the Gods of the Gentiles which perſecute you) *but ſanctifie the Lord God in your hearts*, that is, Fear and worſhip him with your whole hearts. For that this paſſage (howſoever we are wont to expound it) ought to be conſtrued in the ſame ſenſe with that of *Eſay* 8. before alledged, and the words

to

to be rendred ſutably; I take it to be apparent for this reaſon, becauſe they are *verbatim* taken from thence, as he that ſhall compare the Greek words of S. *Peter* with the LXX. in that place of *Eſay*, will be forced to confeſſe.

Beſides this evident and expreſſe uſe of the word *Sanctifie*, in the notion of religious and holy worſhip and feare of the Divine Majeſty: There is yet another expreſsion ſometimes uſed in holy Scripture, which implieth the ſelf-ſame thing: that namely, to worſhip God with that which we call holy and divine worſhip, is all one with *to agnize his holineſſe*, or *to ſanctifie his Name*. Thoſe ſpeeches I meane, wherein we are exhorted to worſhip the Lord, becauſe he is Holy. As *Pſal.* 99. 5. *Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worſhip at his foot-ſtoole, for he is holy.* Again, in the end of the Pſalme: *Exalt the Lord our God, and worſhip at his holy hill, for the Lord our God is holy.* The ſame meaning is yet more emphatically expreſſed by thoſe that ſing the ſong of victory over the Beaſt, *Apoc.* 15. *Great* (ſay they) *and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, juſt and true are thy waies,*

waies, thou King of Nations. Who shall not feare thee, O Lord, and glorifie thy Name? ὅτι μόνος * ΑΓΙΟΣ, (for that I beleeve is the true reading, not ὅσιος) *for thou onely art Holy; therefore all the Nations shall come and worship before thee:* i. they shall relinquish their Idols and plurality of Gods, and worship thee as God onely. For this was the Doctrine both of *Moses* in the Old Testament, and of Christ Jesus the Lamb of God in the New; That one God onely, that made the heaven and the earth, was to be acknowledged and worshipped, and with an incommunicable worship: In respect whereof, as I take it, these Victors are there said *to sing the Song of Moses, and the Lamb*; that is, a gratulatory Song of the worship of one God; " *After that his* * *Ordinances were made manifest.* For otherwise the Ditty is borrowed from the 86. *Psalme*, the 8, 9, & 10. verses, where we reade, " *Among the gods there is none* " *like unto thee, O Lord, neither are there any works* " *like unto thy works. All Nations whom thou hast* " *made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord,* " *and shall glorifie thy Name. For thou art great,* " *and dost wondrous works: Thou art God alone;* that

* So Editi Complut. Andreas, & excmpl. 15.

* δικαιώματα, jura.

that is, Thou only art Holy. Compare *Ier.*10. *ver.*6,7.

I have one thing more to adde, before I finiſh this part of my Diſcourſe, leſt I might leave unſatisfied that which may perhaps ſeem to ſome to weaken this my explication of the ſanctification of Gods Name. For the word, *to ſanctifie*, or *be ſanctified*, is ſometimes uſed of God in a more generall ſenſe then that I have hitherto ſpecified, namely, as ſignifying *any way to be glorified*, or *to glorifie*; as when he ſaith, He will be *ſanctified* in the deſtruction of his enemies, or in the deliverance of his people, and that before the Heathen, and the like; that is, he would purchaſe him glory, or be glorified thereby. I anſwer, It is true, that *to be ſanctified* is in theſe paſſages *to be glorified*; but yet alwayes to be glorified as God, and not otherwiſe. Namely, when God by the works of his power, of his mercy, or juſtice extorts from men the confeſsion of his great and holy Godhead; he is then ſaid *to ſanctifie*, or make himſelfe to be ſanctified amongſt them; that is, to be glorified and honoured by their conviction and acknowledgement

ledgement of his power and Godhead. For although men may be alſo ſaid to glorifie, or purchaſe honour unto themſelves, when by their noble acts they make their abilities and worth known unto the world: yet, for ſuch reſpect, to be ſaid to be ſanctified, is peculiar unto him alone, whoſe Glory is *his Holineſſe*; *i.* unto God.

THUS we have learned how the Name or Majeſty of God is to be ſanctified perſonally, or in it ſelfe; which is the chiefeſt thing we pray for, and ought ſo to be in our endeavour; namely, to worſhip and glorifie him incommunicably, according to his moſt eminent and unparalleld Holineſſe: and ſo, ô Lord, *Hallowed be thy Name.* But there is another ſanctification or hallowing of Gods Name yet behinde, which muſt be joyned therewith; which is, *To ſanctifie* him alſo in the things which have his Name upon them; that is, are ſeparate & dedicate to his ſervice, or in a word, which are *His*, namely, by a peculiar relation. For otherwiſe it is true: *The whole earth is the Lords, and the fulneſſe thereof, the World and thoſe that dwell therein.* But there are ſome things

things *his*, not as other things are, and ſo as they are no longer *ours*, ſuch as according to the ſtyle of Scripture (as I have already noted) are ſaid, *to be called by his Name*, or *to have his Name called upon them*. Theſe are things *ſacred*. Therefore I told you before of a twofold ſanctity or Holineſſe: The one originall, abſolute, and eſſentiall in God: the other derived, or relative in that which is ſet apart to be in a peculiar and appropriate manner *His*. For whatſoever belongeth unto him in this manner, is divided from other things with preeminence, whether they be things or perſons which are ſo ſeparated. For in ſuch ſeparation we ſhewed the nature of ſanctity in generall to conſiſt. Now as the Divine Majeſty it ſelfe is ſeparate and holy, ſo know, it is a part of that honour we owe unto his moſt Sacred Name, that the things whereby, and wherewith he is ſerved, ſhould not be promiſcuous and common, but appropriate and ſet apart to that ſacred end. It is an honour which in ſome degree of reſemblance we afford unto Kings, Princes, and other perſons of dignitie, (of infinite leſſe eminency then God

God is) to interdict the uſe of that to others, which they are wont to uſe; ſometimes the wholē kinde, ſometimes the individuall onely. As we know in former times, to weare purple, to ſubſcribe with the Ink called *Encauſtum*, of a purple colour, and other the like, which the diligent may finde, were appropriate to the uſe of Kings and Emperours onely. In the Book of the *Kings*, we reade of the *Kings Mule*, ſo appropriate to his uſe, as to ride upon him was to be made King, 1 *Kings* 1. 33, 44. In the Book of *Eſther*, *Chap.*6.*v.*8. of the *Horſe* that King *Ahaſuerus* uſed to ride upon, put in the ſame rank with the *Crown* and royall apparell, which none but the King might weare. And of individuall Utenſils thus appropriated, and as it were dedicated to the alone uſe of perſons of eminency, our owne times want not examples. Whence naturall inſtinct may ſeeme to prompt unto us, that ſuch appropriation is a teſtimony of honour and reſpect. Sure I am, that Almighty God hath revealed it to be a part of that honour we owe unto him. Thus all the Utenſils of the Tabernacle and Tem-

ple

ple were *ſacred* and ſet apart to that uſe; and not the Utenſils of the Altar onely, but even the inſtruments of muſick, which *David* ordained to praiſe the Lord within the Temple, were not common, but conſecrated unto God for that end, whence they are called, 1 *Chron.*16.42. כלישיר האלהים, *Inſtrumenta muſica Dei, The muſicall inſtruments of God*; that is, ſacred ones: And 2 *Chron.*7.6. כלי־שיר יהוה *The muſicall Inſtruments of the LORD.* Agreeably whereunto thoſe who ſung the fore-alledged ſong of victory over the Beaſt, are ſaid to have had in their hands, Κιθάρας τοῦ Θεοῦ, *The harps of God*, that is, not prophane or common, but ſacred Harps, the Harps of the Temple, for there they ſung this their Antheme, ſtanding upon the great Laver or Sea of glaſſe which was therein. Apoc. 15.

Nay, our bleſſed Saviour, *Mark* 11. would not ſuffer a profane or common veſſell to be ſo much, as carried through his Fathers Houſe, accounting it as great a profanation, as to buy and ſell there. And yet was not this abuſe (which is a thing well to be marked) within thoſe Septs of the Temple, which the

the Jews accounted ſacred, but in the outmoſt Court called *Atrium gentium & immundorum*, the place whither together with ſuch as were unclean, the Gentiles, and uncircumciſed were admitted to pray; as that of the Prophet cited by our Saviour, rightly rendred, intimates, *My houſe ſhall be called a houſe of prayer, to* (or for) ALL NATIONS. Conſider *Eſay* 56. 6,7. This Court therefore the Jews made no other account of, then as of a prophane place; but our Saviour proved by Scripture, that this Gentiles Oratory was alſo part of his Fathers houſe, and accordingly not to be prophaned with common uſe. Laſtly, there was never any age of the Chriſtian Church (till of late) wherein it was not commonly beleeved, that God was to be honoured by ſuch appropriation or conſecration as we ſpeak of; that is, that Gods Name was in this manner to be ſanctified. But are there any (will you ſay) now that deny it? Yes, there are ſome in our age ſo far carried away into a contrary extreame to that they flie from, that they hold that no oblation or conſecration of things unto God, by the devotion of men, in the

New

New Teſtament, whether of Utenſils, goods, times, or places, ought to be eſteemed lawfull; but that all diſtinction between ſacred and prophane in externall things, by vertue of ſuch conſecration (excepting onely the Sacraments) is flat ſuperſtition: Yet to him that ſeriouſly conſiders it, it cannot chuſe, me thinks, but ſeeme ſtrange and abſurd to affirme, (as this aſſertion doth) that men now in the time of the Goſpel, are exempted and freed from agnizing God to be Lord of the creature, by giving ſome part thereof unto him; then which no part of Divine Worſhip is more naturall, and which hath been uſed by mankinde ever ſince the beginning of the world. Yea, in the ſtate of Paradiſe, among all the trees in the Garden, which God gave man freely to enjoy, one tree was *Noli me tangere*, and reſerved to God as holy, in token he was Lord of the Garden. So that the firſt ſin of Mankinde, for the *ſpecies* of the fact, was *Sacriledge*, in prophaning that which God had made holy.

They ſay, It is true, that in the Old Teſtament, this way of honouring and acknow-

ledging God was warranted by the Divine Law: but in the New we finde no precept given concerning it, nor confirmation of that which was before. Now God is not to be worſhipped with any worſhip, but what he hath himſelfe preſcribed in his Word. I anſwer, What though there be no particular precept in the New Teſtament for this, no more then for divers other duties, which a Chriſtian is bound to; yet if a generall warrant be, the particular needs not. But our Saviour ſaith in his Goſpel, in that Euangelicall Sermon he preached upon the Mount, That he came not to diſſolve the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfill or perfect them. *Think not* (ſaith he) *that I am come to diſſolve the Law and the Prophets* [that is, to take away the obligation of that rule of the duty of man to God and his neighbour, given firſt by *Moſes* in the Law, and afterwards repeated and inculcated by the Prophets; for ſo Prophets are here to be * underſtood, and not of predictions] ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι, *but to fulfill them*, that is, to ſupply, accompliſh, or perfect thoſe rules and doctrines of juſt and unjuſt contained in them,

* According as in that *Mat.* 22.40. *On theſe two Commandements* [viz. To love God above all, & our neighbour as our ſelves] *hang all the Law & the Prophets*; and in that *Luk.* 16.29 *They have Moſes and the Prophets.*

them, by a more ample interpretation, and other improvement befitting the ſtate of the Goſpel. For ſurely, this muſt be the meaning of this ſpeech of our Saviour, if we be more willing (as we ſhould) to take a ſenſe from Scripture, then to bring one to it. Doth not the whole context following evince it? Indeed the Law, that is, the Legall Covenant, or Covenant of works (as Law is oft taken in the New Teſtament) together with all the rites depending thereon, is diſſolved by the comming of Chriſt; and a better Covenant with new rites eſtabliſhed in ſtead thereof: But the Law, that is, the Doctrine and Rule of life given by God contradiſtinct from thoſe ordinances, which were onely appendages of that Covenant, (though theſe were alſo in ſome ſenſe perfected by bringing the truth and ſubſtance, in ſtead of the figure and ſhadow thereof) is not diſannulled, but confirmed and perfected by him, in ſuch manner as became the condition of the Covenant of the Goſpell. For that this confirmation is not to be reſtrained to the Decalogue onely, is manifeſt; becauſe

our Saviour in the following words, inſiſts upon other precepts beſides it. If it be ſaid, they are reducible thereto; this will not ſerve the turn, for ſo doe all the reſt of Gods Commandements. Unleſſe therefore it can be ſhewn, that to honour God by an oblation of his creature, is no part of the Law here confirmed by our Saviour: Let no man be ſo daringly bold, as to exempt himſelfe and others from the obligation thereof; unleſſe he means to be one of them of whom our Saviour ſpeaks immediately, ſaying, "*Who-*
"*ſoever therefore ſhall break one of the leaſt of*
"*theſe Commandements, and ſhall teach men ſo*
"*to doe*, (mark it) *he ſhall be called* (*i.* he ſhall
"be) *the leaſt in the Kingdome of heaven.* The word is λύσῃ, *i. looſe*, or *diſ-binde*, as he doth, both that abrogates, and that obſerves it not; much more, he that affirmeth it unlawfull to be obſerved.

Nay, how dare we disbind or looſe our ſelves from the tye of that way of agnizing and honouring God, which the Chriſtian Church from her firſt beginnings durſt not doe? *Irenæus*, witneſſe of that age which next

ſucceeded

ſucceeded the Apoſtles, is plaine. Lib. 4. c. 34.
"Offerre oportet Deo (ſaith he) primitias creaturæ
"ejus; ſicut & Moſes ait, Non apparebis vacuus
"ante conſpectum Domini Dei tui.—— Et non ge-
"nus oblationum reprobatum eſt: oblationes enim &
"illic, (ſc. in V.T.) oblationes autem & hic; ſacrificia
"in populo, ſacrificia & in Eccleſia: ſed ſpecies im-
"mutata eſt tantum; quippe cum jam non à ſervis, ſed
"à liberis offeratur. Unus enim & idē Dominus; pro-
"priū autē character ſervilis oblationis, & proprium
"liberorum, uti & per oblationes oſtendatur indicium
"libertatis. —— It behoveth us (ſaith he) to offer
"unto God a preſent of his creature; as alſo Moſes
"ſaith, Thou ſhalt not appeare before the Lord thy
"God emptie. —— For offerings in the generall are
"not reprobated: there were offerings there, (viz. in
"the Old Teſt.) there are alſo offerings here in the
"Church: but the ſpecification onely is changed; Foraſ-
"much as offerings now are not made by bond, but free
"men. For there is one and the ſame Lord ſtill; but
"there is a proper character of a bond or ſervile offe-
"ring, & a proper character of freemens; that ſo even
"the Offerings may ſhew forth the tokens of free-
"dome. —— Now where in Scripture he be-
leeved this doctrine and practice to be groun-

ded, he lets us know in the XXVII. chap. of the ſame Book: "*Et quia Dominus naturalia legis,* "*per quæ homo juſtificatur, (quæ etiam ante legiſla-* "*tionem cuſtodiebant, qui fide juſtificabantur, &* "*placebant Deo) non diſſolvit, ſed extendit, ſed &* "*implevit, ex ſermonibus ejus oſtenditur.* i. *That* "*our Lord diſſolved not, but enlarged and perfitted* "*the naturall precepts of the Law, whereby a man is* "*juſt, which alſo before the Law was given they ob-* "*ſerved, who were juſtified by faith and pleaſed God, is* "*evident by his words.* Then he cites ſome of the paſſages of that his Sermon upon the Mount *Mat. V.* 20. &c. And a little after addes: "*Neceſſe* "*fuit auferre quidem vincula ſervitutis, quibus jam* "*homo aſſueverat, & ſine vinculis ſequi Deum, ſu-* "*perextendi verò decreta libertatis, & augeri ſubje-* "*ctionem quæ eſt ad Regem, ut non retrorſus quis re-* "*nitens indignus appareat ei qui ſe liberavit.* ——*Et* "*propter hoc Dominus, pro eo quod eſt, Non mœchabe-* "*ris, nec concupiſcere præcepit; & pro eo quod eſt, Non* "*occides, neque iraſci quidem, & pro eo quod eſt De-* "*cimare, omnia quæ ſunt pauperibus dividere.* i. *It* "*was needfull, that thoſe bonds of ſervitude, which* "*man had before been inured to, ſhould be taken off,* "*that ſo he might without Gives follow God: but that*

"*the*

" *the laws and ordinances of freedome ſhould be ex-*
" *tended, and his ſubjection to the King encreaſed,*
" *leſt that drawing backward he might appeare un-*
" *worthy of him that freed him.*——— *And for*
" *this reaſon, our Lord inſtead of, Thou ſhalt not*
" *commit adultery, commands not ſo much, as to luſt:*
" *inſtead of, Thou ſhalt not kill, not ſo much as to be*
" *angry: inſtead of to Tith, to diſtribute all we have to*
" *the poore, &c.* All which ſaith he, in the ſame place, are not *ſolventis legem, ſed adimplentis, & extendentis et dilatantis, not of one that diſſolves the Law, but fulfils, extends and enlarges it:* alluding ſtill to that in our Saviours Sermon upon the Mount.

Beſides, thoſe who are acquainted with Antiquity can tell, that the Primitive Chriſtians underſtood the holy Euchariſt, to be, A commemoration of the ſacrifice of Chriſts death upon the croſſe, in an oblation of bread and wine. Tis witneſſed by the Fathers of thoſe firſt ages generally. Whereupon the ſame *Irenæus* alſo affirmeth, That our Saviour, by the inſtitution of the Euchariſt had confirmed oblations in the new Teſtament. Namely, to thankſgive or bleſſe a thing in way to a ſacred uſe, he took to be an offering

of it unto God. And was not *Davids* Benediction and thankſgiving at the preparation for the Temple an Offertory? Where note well that as he, upon that occaſion, bleſſed the Lord, ſaying: *Thine,* O LORD, *is the greatneſſe, the power and the glory — all that is in heaven and earth is thine, thine is the Kingdome — Both riches and honour come of thee — Ergo, becauſe all things come of thee, of thine owne have we given thee.* So do Chriſts redeemed, in their Euangelicall Song, *Apoc. V.* aſcribe no leſſe unto him, ſaying, *Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlain, to receive power, and Riches, and Wiſdome, and ſtrength, and honour, and glory, and bleſſing.* Yea, the 24. Elders, which are the Chriſtian Presbytery, expreſſing (ch. 4. ult.) the very argument and ſumme of that Hymnologie which the Primitive Church uſed at the offering of bread and wine for the Euchariſt, worſhip God, ſaying: *Thou art worthy, O Lord to receive glory, and honour, and power: for thou haſt created all things, and for thy pleaſure they are, and were created.*

TAKING

TAKING therefore for granted, that which the practiſe of the Church of God in all ages; yea, I think, I may ſay the conſent of mankinde from the beginning of the world, beareth witneſſe to; that among thoſe duties of the Sanctification of Gods Name, wherewith his Divine Majeſty is immediately and perſonally glorified (of which I have before ſpoken) this is one, and a principall one; to agnize and confeſſe his peerleſſe Soveraignty and dominion over the creature by yeelding him ſome part thereof toward his worſhip and ſervice, of which we renounce the propriety our ſelves; and that accordingly there are both things and perſons now in the Goſpel (as well as were before the Law was given) in this manner lawfully and acceptably ſet apart and ſeparated, by the devotion of men, unto the Divine Majeſty, and conſequently *relatively Holy* (which is nothing elſe, but to be Gods by a peculiar right:) I ſay, that theſe are likewiſe to be done unto according to their degree of ſanctity, in honour of him, whoſe they are: Not to be worſhipped with divine worſhip, or the worſhip which

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we give unto God, communicated to them, (farre be it from us, to deferre to any creature the honour due unto the Divine Majeſty, either together with him, or without him;) but yet *Habenda cum diſcrimine*, To be regarded with a worthy and diſcriminative uſance, that is, uſed with a ſelect, and differing reſpect from other things: as namely, if *Places*, not as other places; if *Times*, not as other times; if *Things* by way of diſtinction ſo called, not as other things; if *Perſons* ſet apart unto the ſervice and worſhip of God, neither to be uſed by others, nor they to carry themſelves in their faſhion of life, as other perſons, (for that which in other things ſacred is their uſe; in perſons ſacred is their converſation, demeanour or carriage of themſelves) but all to be ſanctified with a ſelect, appropriate, or uncommon uſage; that as they are Gods by peculiar relation, and have his Name called upon them, ſo to be *ſeparate*, as far as they are capable, from common uſe, and imployed as inſtruments and circumſtances of his worſhip and ſervice: which is the higheſt and moſt ſingular honour that any creature is capable

pable of. Nay, (as I have ſaid before) even this is to the honour of God, that as himſelfe is that ſingular, incommunicable, and abſolutely *Holy One*, and his ſervice and worſhip therefore incommunicable: ſo ſhould that alſo which hath his Name thereon, or is conſecrated to his ſervice, be in ſome proportion incommunicably uſed, and not promiſcuouſly and commonly as other things are. They are the words of *Maymonides* the Jew, but ſuch as will not misbecome a Chriſtian to make uſe of, concerning that Law, *Levit. V.* 15. *If a ſoule commit a treſpaſſe, and ſinne through ignorance in the holy things of the LORD: then he ſhall bring unto the Lord for his treſpaſſe, a Ram, &c.* "*Behold*, ſaith he, *how great weight there* "*is in the Law, touching ſacrilegious tranſgreſſion.* "*And what though they be wood, and ſtone, and duſt* "*& aſhes? when the Name of the Lord of all the* "*world is called upon things, they are ſanctified* (i. "made holy.) *And who ſo uſeth them to common* "*uſe, he tranſgreſſeth therein; and though he doe it* "*through ignorance, he muſt needs bring his atonement.* Yea, it is a thing worthy to be take̅ ſpecial notice of, that, that ſo preſumptuous, and moſt dreadfully

dreadfully vindicated ſin of *Korah, Dathan, Abiram*, and their company, in offering incenſe unto the Lord being not called thereunto, did not diſcharge their Cenſers of this diſcriminat ve reſpect due unto things Sacred. For thus the Lord ſaid unto *Moſes*, after that fire from heaven had conſumed them for their impiety: "*Speak unto Eleazar the Son of Aaron* "*the Prieſt, that he take up the Cenſers out of the* "*burning, and ſcatter thou the fire yonder, for they* "*are hallowed; the Cenſers of theſe Sinners againſt* "*their own ſoules: Let them make of them broad* "*plates for a covering of the Altar: for they offe-* "*red them before the Lord, therefore they are hallow-ed*, or holy.

Now that by this diſcriminative uſance or ſanctification of things ſacred, the Name of God is honoured and ſanctified, according to the tenour of our petition; is apparent, not onely from reaſon, which tels us, that the honour and reſpect had unto ought that belongs unto another, becauſe it is his, redounds unto the owner and Maſter; but from Scripture, which tels us, that by the contrary uſe of them, his name is prophaned. Heare himſelfe,

ſelfe, *Lev.* XXII. 2. "*Speak unto Aaron,* (ſaith he) "*and his Sons; that they ſeparate themſelves from the* "*Holy things of the children of Iſrael, and that they* "*prophane not my Holy Name in the things which* "*they hallow unto me.* Alſo in the Chapter next before, *v.* 6. The Prieſt that ſhould not diſcriminate himſelf according to thoſe ſingular obſervations, or differing rules there preſcribed him, is ſaid, "*To prophane the Name of his God.* Againe, *Ezek.* XXII. 26. When the Prieſts prophaned Gods holy things, by putting no difference between the Holy and Prophane: *I* (ſaith the Lord) *am prophaned amongſt them.* Likewiſe *Chap.* XLIII. *ver.* 7. Together with other abominations there mentioned, the Lord ſaith, that his "*Holy Name had been* "*polluted,* or prophaned, *by the carkaſſes of their* "*Kings,* that is, of *Manaſſe* and *Amon* buried in the Kings Garden hard by the walls of the Temple. For ſo by the Hebrews, and others that place is underſtood. See 2 *Kings* XXI. *ver.* 18, 26. by the pollution of the Temple, the Lord eſteemed his own Name prophaned. Take in alſo if you will, that of *Malachi Cha.* 1. where the Lord ſayes of thoſe, who deſpiſed and

and diſhonoured his Table, or Altar by offering thereon for ſacrifice, the lame, blinde, and ſick, which the Law had made uncleane and polluted, that they had prophaned his *Holy Name*. But if the Name of God be prophaned by the diſeſteeme and miſuſage of the things it is called upon, then ſurely it is ſanctified, when the ſame are worthily and diſcriminatively uſed, that is, as becommeth the relation they have to him.

I have already ſpecified the ſeverall kinds of Sacred things which are thus to be ſanctified: yet leſt ſomething contained under ſome of them might not be taken notice of, by ſo generall an intimation, it will not be amiſſe a little more fully and particularly to explicate them, then I have yet done. Remember therefore that I ranged all ſacred things under foure heads. 1. Of *Perſons* Sacred; ſuch as were the Prieſts and Levites in the Old Teſtament, and now in the New, the Chriſtian Clergy, or *Clerus*; ſo called from the beginning of Chriſtian Antiquity, either becauſe they are the Lords κλῆρος, or Portion, which the Church dedicateth unto him out of her ſelfe

ſelfe, (namely, as the Levites were an offering of the Children of Iſrael, which they offered unto him out of their Tribes) or becauſe their inheritance and livelihood is the Lords portion. I preferre the firſt; yet either of both will give their Order the title of Holineſſe, as doth alſo more eſpecially their deſcent which they derive from the Apoſtles; that is, from thoſe, for whom their Lord and Maſter prayed unto his Father, ſaying, *Father,* ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, [ἐν for εἰς] *Sanctifie them unto, or for thy Truth: thy Word is Truth*; that is, *Separate them unto the Miniſtery of thy Truth*, the word of thy Goſpel, which is the truth and verification of the promiſes of God. It follows, *As thou haſt ſent me into the World, ſo have I alſo ſent them into the World,* (this is the key which unlocks the meaning of that before and after.) *And for them I ſanctifie my ſelfe, that they might be ſanctified for thy Truth*; that is, And for as much as they cannot be conſecrated to ſuch an Office, without ſome ſacrifice, to atone and purifie them; therefore for their conſecration to this holy function of miniſtration of the new Covenant, I offer my ſelfe a Sacrifice unto

Num. x. 11

Joh. XVII.

unto thee for them, in lieu of thoſe legall and typicall ones, wherewith *Aaron* and his ſons firſt, and then the whole Tribe of *Levi* were conſecrated unto thy ſervice in the old. An Ellipſis of the firſt Subſtantive in Scripture is frequent. So here ἀληθεια onely, is put for διακονία τῆς ἀληθείας, *Truth*, for *the Miniſtery of Truth.*

Now that the Chriſtian Church (for of the Jewiſh I ſhall need ſay nothing) hath alwayes taken it for granted, that thoſe of her Clergy ought, according to the ſeparation and ſanctity of their Order, to be diſtinguiſhed, and differenced from other Chriſtians, both paſſively in their uſance from others, but eſpecially actively, by a reſtrained converſation, and peculiarneſſe in their manner of life, is manifeſt by her ancient Canons and Diſcipline. Yea, ſo deeply hath it been rooted in the minds of men, that the Order of Church-men binds them to ſome differing kind of converſation and forme of life from the Laity; that even thoſe who are not willing to admit of the like diſcrimination due in other things, have ſtill in their opinions ſome

ſome relique thereof remaining in this, though perhaps not altogether to be acquited of that imputation, which *Tertullian* charged upon ſome in his time, to wit, "*Quod quum* "*excellimur & inflamur adverſus Clerum, tunc* "*unum omnes ſumus, tunc omnes Sacerdotes; quia* "*Sacerdotes nos Deo & Patri fecit. Quum ad* "*peræquationem Diſciplinæ Sacerdotalis provoca-* "*mur, deponimus infulas, & impares ſumus. When* "*we vaunt, & are puffed up againſt the Clergie, then* "*we are all one, then we are all Prieſts; For he* "*made us Prieſts to God and his Father. But when* "*we are called upon, to equall in our lives the* "*example of Prieſtly Diſcipline, then downe goe* "*our Mitres, and we are another ſort of men.* De Monogamia. cap 12.

Another ſort of things ſacred, which I named, was Sacred *PLACES*, to wit, *Churches*, and *Oratories*, as the Chriſtian name Κυριακὰ, implieth them to be, that is, *The Lords*. A third, Sacred *Times*. *i.* dedicated and appointed for the ſolemne celebration of the worſhip of God, and Divine duties: ſuch are with us, (for thoſe of the Jews concern us not) κυριακαὶ ἡμέραι, our Lords dayes, with other our Chriſtian Feſtivals, and holy dayes.

Of the manner of the diſcrimination from common, or ſanctifying both the one and the other, by actions ſome commanded, others interdicted to be done in them, the Canons and Conſtitutions of our Church will both informe, and direct us. For holy Times, and holy Places are Twins (Time and Place, being, as I may ſo ſpeak, pair-circumſtances of action) and therefore *Lev.* XIX. 30. And again XXVI. 2. they are joyned together, "*tanquam* "*ejuſdem rationis*: *Keep my Sabbaths and reverence* "*my Sanctuary.*

The fourth ſort of Sacred things is of ſuch as are neither Perſons, Times, nor Places, but *Things* in a ſpeciall ſenſe, by way of diſtinction from them. And this ſort containeth under it many particulars, which may be ſpecified after this manner.

1. Sacred *Revenue* of what kinde ſoever: which in regard of the dedication thereof, as it muſt not be prophaned by ſacrilegious alienation, ſo ought to be ſanctified by a different uſe and imployment from other Goods; namely ſuch a one as becommeth that which is the *Lords*, and not mans. For that Primi-

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tive Chriſtian Antiquity ſo eſteemed them, appears by their calling them τὰ κυριακὰ, as they did their *Place* of Worſhip κυριακὸν, and their *Holy day* κυριακὴ; all of the Lord, as it were, Chriſtening the old notion of *Sacred*, by a new name. So *Can. Apoſtol.* XL. "*Manife-*
"*ſtæ ſint Epiſcopi res propriæ (ſi quidem res habet*
"*proprias) & manifeſta ſint* τὰ κυριακὰ, *i. res*
"*Dominicæ*——*Author Conſtitut. Apoſt. Lib.* 2.
"*c.* 28. *al.* 24. *Epiſcopus ne utatur* τοῖς κυριακοῖς,
"*Dominicis rebus, tanquam alienis aut communibus,*
"*ſed moderate.* See alſo *Balſamon in Can.* 15. *Concilii Ancyrani*, and the Canon it ſelfe.

Secondly, Sacred *Vtenſils*, as the Lords *Table*, *Veſſels* of miniſtration, the *Books* of God, or Holy Scripture, and the like. Which that the Church, even in her better times, reſpected with an holy and diſcriminative uſance, may be learned from the Story of that calumnious crimination, deviſed by the Arrian Faction againſt *Athanaſius*, as a charge of no ſmall impiety; namely, that in his Viſitation of the Tract of *Mareotis*, *Macarius*, one of his Presbyters, by his command, or inſtinct, had entered into a Church of the Miletian Schiſ-

matiques, and there broken the *Chalice*, or *Communion Cup*, thrown down the *Table*, and burnt ſome of the *Holy Books*. All which argues, that, in the generall opinion of Chriſtians of that time, ſuch acts were eſteemed prophane and impious; otherwiſe they could never have hoped (as they did) to have blaſted the reputation of the holy Biſhop by ſuch a ſlaunder.

Touching the *Bookes of God*, or holy Scripture, (which I referred to this title, eſpecially thoſe which are for the publique ſervice of God in the Church, I adde this further; That under that name I would have comprehended, the *ſenſes*, *words*, and *phraſes* appropriated to the expreſsion of Divine and Sacred things; which a Religious eare cannot endure to heare abuſed with prophane and ſcurrilous application.

Thirdly, Vnder this fourth head of things Sacred I comprehend *Sacred Acts*; ſuch as are the Acts of Gods holy worſhip and adminiſtration of his Sacraments. For albeit theſe

Acts

Acts are duties of the firſt and perſonall Sanctification of Gods Name, whereof the immediate object is God: yet are the Acts themſelves ſacred things, and therefore have ſome ſanctification due to them alſo, as other ſacred things have: of which, although it be moſt true, that the unfained devotion of the heart (as before him who alone knoweth the hearts of the children of men) be the main & principal requiſite: yet, unleſſe, even in the outward performance, they be, for the manner & circumſtances, diſcriminated from common acts, by a ſelect accommodation befitting their holineſſe, their ſanctification is defective, and by ſuch defect, if voluntary, Gods Name is prophaned, even then when we are worſhipping him. How much more, when our carriage therein cometh ſhort even of that wonted reverence, wherewith we come before an earthly Potentate? May not God here juſtly uſe the ſame expoſtulatiõ with us, that he did with thoſe in the Prophet *Malachi*, who preſented thẽſelves before him with ſuch an offering, as was in regard of the blemiſhes unworthy of, and unbefitting ſo great

a Majeſty, and therefore to be accounted rather an affront then an act of honour and worſhip? *Yea have*, ſaith he, *deſpiſed and prophaned my Name——Offer it now unto thy Gover-*
Malachi. c. 1. v. 6. 8. 12. 14. *"nour: will he be pleaſed with thee, or accept thy per-"ſon?——yet I am a great King, ſaith the Lord of hoſts.* And this is the document or leſſon, which this place naturally and unavoydably miniſtreth to us; That to come before the divine Majeſty, with leſſe reverent and regardfull deportment, then we do before earthly Kings and potentates, is to deſpiſe and prophane his holy Name. And not that, which ſome would ſhelter under this text, and leane too much upon; namely, That the acts of Gods externall worſhip ought to be wholly conforme to the uſe of the ſemblable actions performed unto men, and not differ from them: and upon this ground charge the Chriſtian Liturgies with abſurdity in their formes, of praying, and praiſing God with *reſponſals*, ſinging *by turnes*, and ſpeaking *many together*. For this principle is directly repugnant to the nature of Sanctification, which conſiſts in diſcrimination and difference. And therefore

therefore, though the materiall of our geſtures and other expreſsions vocall or viſible, be borrowed from the uſe and cuſtome of men; yet for the formality of them, not onely they may, but ought to be differenced from them. Moreover, touching this reproofe of the Prophet; take notice, that it is grounded upon the Law, *Levit.* XXII. where we are taught, that when that is not obſerved concerning the Rites of Gods ſervice which the ſanctity of them requireth, as in other particulars, ſo in this of a not defective or unblemiſhed offering, his Name is thereby prophaned. See *v.* 32. with the reſt of the chapter foregoing it. And if ſo, then by the contrary it is ſanctified.

Laſtly, Vnto this head of ſacred Acts I reduce *Oaths* and *ſacred Covenants*, that is, ſuch as are made either with God, or between men; Gods Name being called upon, which therefore 1 *Sam.* XX. 8. are ſtyled *Covenants of the Lord*: For that the obſervance due touching both is a ſanctifying of them, as things upon which the Name of the Lord is called, is apparent; foraſmuch as when they are violated by falſhood they are ſaid to be

prophaned, as *Levit.* 19. 12. *Pſal.* 55. 20. *Ierem.* 34. 15.

Thus together with my explication of theſe ſeverall ſorts of ſacred things, I have briefly and in generall pointed at that alſo wherein the proper ſanctification of each conſiſteth, which though farre ſhort of ſuch a tractation as the matter requireth: yet if it may ſerve onely, but to give occaſion to others who are better able, to bend their thoughts upon this argument (which perhaps the times call for) I ſhall fully attaine the end I aymed at. For mine owne part, to deſcend to particulars would be a task too high for me, and as I ſuſpect, not very acceptable. For it is ten to one (if the grounds I have laid be true) but that the moſt of us would be found faulty in ſome things, and ſome of us in all. Well, the ſumme of my argumentation hath been this: Is there any thing in the New Teſt. Gods by a peculiar right? To ſay there is not, is abſurd and againſt the perpetuall tradition of Chriſtianity. If there be, then it is *holy*; if holy, then to be *ſanctified*; if ſanctified, then to be *diſcriminated* in the

the uſance and reſpect thereof, from that which is of common condition.

NOW out of this diſcourſe, which I have hitherto made, you may ſee and take notice, That (contrary to the vulgar opinion) *the Prohibition of Idolatry* and *the diſcriminative obſervance of things ſacred*; not to prophane them by a promiſcuous and common uſe; are derived both of them from one and ſame principle, ſc. *Gods Incommunicableneſs*, which derives a ſhadow and reſemblance upon the things which have his Name called upon them, to wit, a ſtate of *appropriatneſſe* and ſingularity. Wherefore the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 2. not without good reaſon, compares together the tranſgreſſions of the one and the other kind, as parallel ſins, or ſins of affinity: "*Thou that hateſt Idols* (ſaith he) *doeſt thou commit Sacriledge?* Where by *Sacriledge* underſtand not onely the uſurpation of things ſacred, but the violation of that which is ſacred, in generall. And it is as if he had ſaid, thou haſt mended the matter well indeed, for ſtill thou daſheſt againſt the ſame principle. For it is one of the exmplifications of that he ſaith in the beginning of the Chap-

Chapter: *He that judgeth or condemneth another, and doth the ſame or the like himſelfe, is inexcuſable.* By this it appears how much they are miſtaken, who under pretence of avoyding Idolatry and ſuperſtition, cannot endure, that any diſtinction ſhould be made between things ſacred and common. Is not this to *unhallow* Gods Name one way, that ſo we might not prophane it another? Farre be it from me to be a patron of idolatry or ſuperſtition in the leaſt degree: yet I am afraid, leſt we who have reformed the worſhip of God from that pollution (and bleſſed be his name therefore) ἀμετρία τ ἀιτολκῆς, as S. *Baſil* ſpeaks, that is, by bending the crooked ſtick too much the other way, have run too farre into the contrary extreame, and taken away (ſome of us) all difference in a manner between *Sacred* and *prophane*; and by this tranſgreſsion in doing Gods work made our ſelves lyable to that upbrayd of the Apoſtle; *Tu qui idola abominaris ſacrilegium admittis?* Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit ſacriledge? that is, prophaneſt thou Gods Name by violating that which is ſacred?

Let

Let no man think it ſtrange or incredible, that ſuch an enormity ſhould be cõmitted, or an occaſion at leaſt given thereof, in the manage of ſo holy & glorious a work: ſeeing the experience of all ages ſufficiently witneſſeth, how prone the nature of man is, in flying one extream, to run too farre towards the other. Why then ſhould we think it unlikely, or rather not think it very likely, that we alſo may have miſcarried in the ſame manner? unleſſe we will arrogate unto our ſelves that priviledge of infallibility, and freedome from error, which we condemne as intolerable preſumption in our Adverſaries.

Beſides, it is to be taken notice of, becauſe of the prejudicate miſpriſion of many to the cõtrary; That the meaſure of truth & falſhood, beſt & worſt, is not the greater or leſſer diſtance from Popery (foraſmuch as Popery alſo containeth much of Chriſtianity) nor that which is moſt deſtructive of the man of ſin, always moſt warrantable and ſafe to be embraced. If it were, there be ſome in the world, (whoſe religion we would be loth to admit of) that would be found more orthodox and bet-

better reformed Chriſtians then any of us all.

Nay, give me leave, without offence, for the better awakening of ſome out of their deafneſſe to whatſoever elſe may be ſaid to this purpoſe, to propound ſuch a Demand as this: Who knoweth, whether this tranſgreſsion I ſpeak of, be not a main and principall ingredient of that guilt, which the Divine Majeſty admoniſheth us to take notice of, in this his ſo long and ſo ſevere viſitation of our neighbours and brethren? whether he doth not viſibly, or, if ſome paſſages be conſidered, almoſt vocally, upbraid them; *Thou that hateſt Idols, doſt thou commit Sacriledge?* I know right well, that raſhly to aſsigne the particular cauſes of Gods judgements, without rule or precedent of Scripture, is a ſin of preſumption, and a bold intruſion into Gods ſecrets; and therefore I affirme not, but demand onely, whether there be not here ſome cauſe which may miniſter ſuch a ſuſpicion. But whatſoever it be, the compaſsion of their wofull affliction cals upon me rather to pray for them, then to follow this; harſh and unpleaſant paſſage any further. Onely thus

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to the Sanctification of *Perſons Sacred*, and ſet apart unto God. By which, though in the ſtrict and proper ſenſe, are intended onely *Prieſts*, and ſuch as miniſter about Holy things, yet in a larger ſenſe, and, as it were, by way of reſemblance, the whole body of the People of God are a *Royall Prieſthood*, and * *Holy* Nation, which the Almighty hath ſelected unto himſelfe, out of the reſt of the world, and ſet apart to ſerve him in a peculiar, and different maner, from the reſt of men: For you have heard it is a requiſite of that which is Holy, to be uſed in a peculiar and ſingular manner, and not as things common. Hence it is, that the obſervation of that *peculiar* and *different forme of life*, which God hath commanded thoſe, whom he hath called, and ſet apart from the world unto himſelfe, in Scripture carries the name of *Holineſſe*, or *Sanctity*, (eſpecially in the New Teſtament) that is, of ſuch as becommeth thoſe that are *Holy*; According to that, *Be ye Holy, as I am Holy*: And here, I might have a large diſcourſe, to ſhew how the *Name of God is ſanctified* by the lives of his Children, when they conform

* Ἁγία καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία.

conform not themſelves to the faſhions of the world, but as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, are *crucified* thereto, and keep themſelves unſpotted from the pollutions and vanities thereof.

But this I leave, to be ſupplied by your meditations according to the generall intimation given thereof.

Acts 17. 4.

There associated themselves to Paul *and* Silas *of the worshipping Greeks a great multitude.*

PAul and *Silas* preaching in the Jewish Synagogue at *Thessalonica*, and proving out of the Scriptures, that Messiah, or Christ, was to suffer, and to rise again from the dead, and that *Iesus* was that Christ, it was said, *That some of them which heard, beleeved*; and that *there associated themselves* to them *a great multitude* τῶν ΣΕΒΟΜΕΝΩΝ Ελλήνων, *of the worshipping Greeks*. Of these Σεβόμενοι, there is elsewhere mention in the Acts of the Apostles more then once; But what they were, our Commentators doe not fully enform us; Nor can it be understood, without some delibation of Jewish Antiquity. The explication whereof will give

give ſome light not to this paſſage onely, but to the whole Story of the Primitive Converſion of the Gentiles to the Faith, recorded in that Book.

We muſt know therefore, that of thoſe Gentiles, which embraced the worſhip of the God of Iſrael, (commonly term'd *Proſelytes*) there were two ſorts: One of ſuch as were circumciſed, and tooke upon them the obſervation of the whole Law of *Moſes*. Theſe were accounted as Jews, (to wit, *facti, non nati*) bound to the like obſervances with them, converſed with, as freely, as if they had been ſo born; neither might the one eat, drink, or keep company with a Gentile, more then the other, leſt they became unclean. They worſhipped in the ſame Court of the Temple, where the Iſraelites did, whither others might not come. They were partakers with them in all things, both divine and humane; In a word, they differed nothing from Jews, but onely that they were of Gentile race.

This kind the Jewiſh Doctors call גרי צדק, *Proſelyti Iuſtitiæ*, or גרי ברית, *Proſelyti fœderis*,

namely, becauſe they took upon them the ſigne thereof, *Circumciſion.* In the New Teſtament they are called ſimply, *Proſelytes*, without addition. Of which Order was *Vriah* the *Hittite*, *Achior*, in the Booke of *Iudith*, *Herod* the *Idumæan*, *Onkelos* the *Chaldee* Paraphraſt, and many others both before, and in our Saviours time.

But beſides theſe there was a ſecond kind of Gentiles, admitted likewiſe to the worſhip of the true God, the God of Iſrael, and the hope of the life to come; which were not circumciſed, nor conformed themſelves to the Moſaicall rites, and ordinances; but were only tied to the obſervation of thoſe precepts, which the Hebrew Doctors call the *precepts of the ſons of Noah*; Namely, ſuch as all the ſons of *Noah* were bound to obſerve.

These precepts are in number ſeven, recorded in the [a] *Talmud*, [b] *Maymonides* and others, under theſe following titles. Firſt, the precept עבודה זרה, to renounce Idols, and all Idolatrous worſhip. Secondly, ברכת השם, to worſhip the true God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. Thirdly, שפיכות דמים, Bloodſhed; to

a Gemara Sanhedrin, in Perek מחיית אראע.
b Maiem. Hal. Melachim. c. 9. vide Shick. de jure Regio Hebræorū p. 128, 129

to wit, to commit no murder. Fourthly, גלוי שריות, *detectio nuditatum*, not to be defiled with fornication, inceſt, or other unlawfull conjunction. Fifthly, גזל, *Rapina*, againſt theft and robbery. Sixthly, דינין, concerning adminiſtration of Juſtice: The ſeventh, אבר מן החי, *Membrum de vivo*, ſo they call the Precept, of not eating the fleſh with the blood in it, given to *Noah*, when he came out of the Ark; as *Maymonides* expreſly expounds it, and addes beſides. *Quicunque hæc ſeptem præcepta exequenda ſuſceperit, ecce is eſt,* מחסידי אמות העולם, *ex piis gentium mundi, habetque partem in ſeculo futuro.* Note that he ſaith [*ex piis Gentium*,] for this kinde were ſtill eſteemed *Gentiles*, and ſo called, becauſe of their uncircumciſion; in reſpect wherof (though no Idolaters) they were, according to the Law, unclean, and ſuch as no Jew might converſe with; wherefore they came not to worſhip into the Sacred Courts of the Temple, whither the Jews, and circumciſed Proſelytes came; but onely into the outmoſt Court, called *Atrium Gentium & immundorum*, which, in the ſecond Temple, ſurrounded the ſecond, or great Court, where-

Act. 10. 28 11. 3.

whereinto the Iſraelites came, being divided there-from by a low wall of ſtone made battlement-wiſe, not above three Cubits high, called (ſaith *Ioſephus*, from whom I have it) in the Hebrew Dialect גדר, in the Greek Θεῖγχος, that is, *Lorica*, cloſe by which ſtood certain little pillars, whereon was written in Latin and Greek Letters, Μὴ δεῖν ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου παρεῖναι, *In atrium ſanctum tranſire alienigenam non debere*; And this I make no queſtion, is that which Saint Paul, *Epheſ.*2. alluded unto, when he ſaith, That *Chriſt had broken down the* μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ, *the partition wall*, (namely, that *Lorica*, which ſeparated the Court of the Gentiles, from that of the Circumciſion) and ſo laying both Courts into one, hath made the Jews and Gentiles Intercommoners; whereby thoſe that were ſometime far off, were now made nigh, and as near as the other, unto the Throne of God. But in *Solomons* Temple, this Court of the Gentiles ſeems not to have been, but in the ſecond Temple onely; the Gentiles formerly worſhipping without at the door, and not coming within the Septs of the Temple at all.

De Bello Judaico lib.6.ca 6. Græc.18.

This

This ſecond kind of Proſelytes, the Talmudiſts call גרי שער, *Proſelyti portæ*, or תושב גר, *Proſelyti inquilini*; becauſe they were under the ſame cõdition, with thoſe Gentile ſtrãgers which lived as *inquilini* in the Land of Iſrael. For all Gentiles dwelling within the Gates of Iſrael, whether they were as ſervants, taken in warre, or otherwiſe, were bound to renounce their falſe Gods, and to worſhip the God of Iſrael; but not to be circumciſed, unleſſe they would, nor farther bound to keep the Law of *Moſes*, then was contained in thoſe precepts of the ſons of *Noah*. Theſe are thoſe mentioned (as often elſewhere in the Law, ſo) in the fourth Commandment by the name of the *Stranger within thy gates*; whereby it might ſeem probable, that the obſervation of the Sabbath day (ſo farre as concerneth one day in ſeven) was included in ſome one or other of thoſe precepts of the ſons of *Noah*; namely, in that, of worſhipping for their God, the Creator of Heaven & earth, and no other; whereof this conſecratiõ of a *ſeventh day*, after ſix dayes labour, was a badge or livery; according to that, *The Sabbath is a ſigne* vid. Lev. 17.

between me and you, that I Iehovah am your God; becauſe in ſix daies the Lord made Heaven and earth, the ſea, and all that in them is, and reſted the ſeventh day: vide *Exod* 31. 16, 17. *Ezek.* 20. 20. From the example of theſe *Inquilini*, all other Gentiles, whereſoever living, admitted to the worſhip of the God of Iſrael upon the ſame termes, were called גר שער, or גר תושב, *Proſelyti Portæ*, or *Proſelyti inquilini*; of which ſort there were many in all Cities and places of the Gentiles, where the Jews had Synagogues; and uſed to frequent the Synagogues with them, (though in a diſtinct place) to hear the Law, and the Prophets read and expounded.

But in the New Teſtament they are found called by another name, to wit of Σεβόμενοι, or *Worſhippers*, ſo often mentioned (though not obſerved) in the Acts of the Apoſtles. For firſt, theſe are thoſe meant in that of the *Acts* 17. 4. alleadged at my entrance into this diſcourſe, where it is ſaid that τῶν Σεβομένων Ελλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος, *a great number of the worſhipping Greeks beleeved, and adhered to Paul and Silas*; which the *Vulgar* rightly tranſlateth, *de colentibus Gentilibus*

bus multitudo magna, taking the name of *Greeks*, here, as elſewhere in the New Teſtament, to be put for *Gentiles in generall*. And this place will admit of no evaſion: For that they were *Gentiles*, the name of Ἑλλήνων betokeneth expreſly, being given them by way of diſtinction from the Jews, then and there preſent alſo.

That they were worſhippers of the true God, the God of Iſrael, their comming into the Synagogue, their name Σεβόμενοι, their capableneſſe of S. *Pauls* diſcourſe, (which was to prove out of the Scriptures, *that Meſſiah was to ſuffer death, and that Ieſus was he*) argues ſufficiently; yea, abundantly. For who could have profited by ſuch a Sermon as this, but thoſe who already had knowledge of the true God, and beleeved the reward of the life to come? This place therefore, may ſerve as a key to all the reſt of the places in this Book, where theſe Σεβόμενοι are mentioned.

To that in the ſame Chapter, ver. 17. where it is ſaid, that Saint *Paul* in the Synagogue at Athens, διελέγετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς Σεβομένοις, diſcourſed to the Jews and the *Worſhippers*.

To

To that *Acts* 16. 14. where Saint *Paul* preaching the Goſpel to the Jews *Proſeucha*, or Oratory at *Philippi*, a woman named *Lydia*, a ſeller of purple, of the City *Thyatira*, Σεβομένη τὸν Θεὸν, A *proſelyte-worſhipper* was converted unto the faith, and baptized with all her houſhold.

In the like maner, to *Acts* 18. 4. when S. *Paul* is ſaid at Corinth, to have reaſon'd in the Synagogues every Sabath, & to have perſwaded the Jews and the *Greeks*: For theſe Greeks were Σεβόμενοι what did they in the Synagogues els ſo regularly every Sabbath day? True, the name of Σεβόμενοι is here wanting; But it preſently follows, when the Jews oppoſed *Paul*, (there teſtifying Jeſus to be the Chriſt) and blaſphemed; *that he ſhook his rayment, and ſaid, Your blood be on your own heads: From henceforth I will goe to the Gentiles. And he departed thence*, ſaith the text, *and entred into the houſe of one Iuſtus*, Σεβομένου τὸν Θεὸν, *a Gentile-worſhipper, whoſe houſe joined hard to the Synagogue.*

But above all, that narration *Acts* 13. deſerves our conſideration and attention: There *ver.* 43. it is ſaid, that Saint *Paul* having preached the Goſpell in the Jews Synagogue at Antioch

Antioch of Pisidia, there followed him πολλὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ τῶν Σεβομένων Προσηλύτων, many of the Jews and *worshipping* Proselytes; and v. 42. That when the Jews were gone out of the Synagogue, the Gentiles, that is, the Σεβόμενοι, besought the Apostles, that the same things might be preached unto them the next Sabbath; which being accordingly done, and many of the other Gentiles (who were not Σεβόμενοι) upon the fame of such a new Doctrine, unwontedly assembling with them, it is said, that *the Iews when they saw the multitude, were filled with envy, contradicted and blasphemed.* That then *Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said; It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken unto you, but seeing you put it from you, and judge your selves unworthy of eternall life; Lo, we turn to the Gentiles, as the Lord saith. I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, &c.* 48. That *when the Gentiles heard this they were glad, and glorified the word of God,* καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον· that is, the Σεβόμενοι, who were already *in procinctu*, and in the posture *to eternall Life.* The Jews blasphemed; the rest of the Gentiles were uncapable; onely the

the Σεβόμενοι, (who were already *Candidati vitæ æternæ*, having been instructed in the worship of the true God, and hoping for the reward to come) they beleeved: Yet perhaps not all of them neither, (the words require not * so much) but that none but such: And it followes, that the Jews found out some Σεβομένας γυναῖκας καὶ εὐσχήμονας, *worshipping women*, such as were of fashion (who yet perhaps had not been at the Apostles Sermon) by whose means they stirred up the chiefe men in the City, and raised persecution against *Paul* and *Barnabas*. This I take to be the true and genuine meaning of this passage, upon which no charge of Pelagianisme can be fastened; nor needeth it any spinous Criticisms for its explication. The use of the word τάττω, *de acie & collocatione Militum, de ascriptione in ordinem vel classem*, (in which signification the passive is most frequent) is well enough known: ἐμαυτὸν τάττω εἰς τοὺς βουλομένους, *Xenophon*: *In eam classem me ascribo*. *Plutarch in Solone*; αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν πενήτων μοίρᾳ τάττει, *In pauperum ordinem se redigit, inter pauperes se numerat*; τάττεσθαι εἰς μάχην, *dicuntur milites, unde & τεταγμένοι appellantur*:

* For ὅτι is often put for ὅτι, and the sense then but indefinite.

tur: τάσσεσθαι εἰς ἀριθμὸν, *est in numerum virorum ascribi.* Compare the 1 *Cor.* 16. 15. εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτοὺς. According to which sense and notion, the words might be rendred, *Crediderunt, quotquot nomina sua dederant vitæ æternæ*, or, [*per Ellipsin Participii*] *qui de agmine & classe fuerant sperantium, vel contendentium ad vitam æternam*; otherwise, *Qui in procinctu stabant ad vitam æternam*: or most fitly, (*sensu modo militari*) *Quotquot ordinati fuerant ad vitam æternam. De re tota judicent viri docti, & à studio partim alieni.*

Besides, it will not be impertinent, as a *Mantissa* to these quotations, for Σεβόμενοι, to note that the same persons are otherwise, (namely, twice) characterised by the title of Φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεὸν. As first of *Cornelius*, concerning whom there is no question but he was a *Gentile-worshipper*: The Text saith, *There was a man in Cæsarea, called Cornelius, a Centurion of the Italian Band*, Εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν, (i.) Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ. Again in that 13. of the Acts (whereon we have dwelt so long) S. *Paul* speaking at first to that mixt multitude, assembled in the Synagogue, consisting partly of Jews, and

partly

partly, ἐκ τῶν Σεβομένων προσηλύτων, he compellates them, *verse* 16. both distinctly in these words, "Ανδρες Ισραηλῖται, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεὸν ἀκούσατε· By the former, meaning the Jews, by the latter the Σεβόμενοι, or, *Gentile-worshippers.*

Of this kinde of *Converts* (as I have in part already intimated) were in our Saviour, and his Apostles time, very many in every Nation, and Citie, where the Jews lived, and had their Synagogues; Yea, farre more in number, then of that other sort of *Proselytes* which were circumcised. The reason being, because it was the more easie condition, and not so prejudiciall to their outward liberty, as the other; in as much, as they might notwithstanding still live, and converse with their friends, kindred, and Countrymen, beare office, and enjoy honours among them, (as *Naaman* the Syrian did, who was of this kinde) which the other might not doe.

These impediments being out of the way, the hope of the Resurrection from the dead, and the reward of the life to come, were powerfull inducements to draw many to the worship of that God, who onely among the Gods

Gods * at that time, promiſed this reward to ſuch as worſhipped, and ſerved him, and no other, which was the bait wherewith the Jews allured them; and that to their own no ſmall emolument; this kinde, as it were to recompence their want of Circumciſion, ſeeming to have been very bountifull towards their Nation, as may be gathered both from *Cornelius*, who is ſaid *to have given much almes to the people*, (namely of the Jews;) And the Story of that Centurion, *Luke* 7. whom the Jews beſought our Saviour ſo inſtantly for, alledging, that *he loved their Nation, and had built them a Synagogue*, and therefore deſerved that favour they ſued for, on his behalfe.

* For ſince then, the Devil hath been Gods Ape.

Now, out of this diſcourſe, beſides the clearing of the paſſages afore-mentioned, we may learn two things: One, how ſo many of the *Gentiles*, by the preaching of the Apoſtles, could ſo ſoon, and ſo readily be converted to the faith of Chriſt. It was becauſe they had already embraced the principles which led thereunto. For we are to take notice, that the foundation of the Church among the Gentiles, was laid of theſe Σεβόμενοι, who had already

already embraced the worſhip of the true God, had knowledge of his promiſes, beleeved, and hoped for the life to come. For was not S. *Peter* (to whom the inſtructions for this Embaſſage were firſt given) ſent firſt to *Cornelius* a Centurion, a Gentile, the firſt of this order? wherefore? but that this might be for a pattern for them, with what kinde of men they were firſt to deale in this great work; namely, with ſuch as were *idonei Auditores Euangelii*; thoſe which were *puri puti Gentiles*, being not ſo; as who knew nothing of the principles requiſite thereto. This will appear, if we conſider well the tenour of the Apoſtles Sermons, to ſuch Gentiles as they converted; which we ſhall obſerve to preſuppoſe that they already knew the true God, and the promiſe of eternal life, to ſuch as worſhiped him, & ſo had no more to learn, but the way and means now revealed by God, for attainment therof, which was by the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt

The other thing we may learn, is, what was the true ſtate of the Queſtion, which the Apoſtles met to decide at Jeruſalem; whether the Gentiles which beleeved in Chriſt, were

were to be circumciſed or not, and ſo bound to keep the whole Law. It was this, to reſolve (that, whereas all ſuch as embraced the worſhip of the God of Iſrael, conformed to one of theſe two kinds of *Proſelytes*) to whether of them the Gentiles, which had or ſhould receive the Goſpel of Chriſt, were to conform themſelves, whether to the *Proſelytes of the Covenant*, or to the Σεβόμενοι, and *Proſelytes of the Gate*. S. *Peter* ſtanding up in the Councell, demonſtrates it to be the will of God, that they ſhould conform to the latter, and not to the firſt; and that upon this ground; becauſe that *Cornelius*, the firſt Chriſtianed Gentile, unto whom himſelfe was ſent by Divine Commiſſion, was no *circumciſed Proſelyte*, but a *Proſelyte of the Gate*, or a Σεβόμενος only; Yet received he no Commiſsion to circumciſe him: Yea, the holy Ghoſt, as he was Preaching, fell upon him, and his houſhold, being uncircumciſed, as it did upon thoſe of the Circumciſion: whereby it appeared, that God would have the reſt of the Gentiles, which embraced the faith, to be after the pattern of *Cornelius*; and to have no more impoſed upon them,

then He had. And accordingly the Councell defines, *That no other burden should be laid upon them, but onely to abstain from pollution of Idols, from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication:* and as some copies *have, ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖν· To do as they would be done to; that is, they should as Σεβόμενοι, observe the *præcepta Filiorum Nohæ*, which here [by a σχῆμα ἐνδείας] are briefly reckoned up.

* *Together with* Irenæus *twise, Lib.* 3. *cap* 12. Cyprian. *Lib.* 3. Testimon. in fine.

Μόνῳ τῷ Θεῷ δόξα.

2 PETER

2 PETER 2. 4.

For if God ſpared not the Angels which ſinned, [ἀλλὰ σειραῖς ζόφου ταρταρώσας παρέδωκεν εἰς κρίσιν τετηρημένους] ——— *but caſt them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkneſſe to be reſerved unto Iudgement, &c.* ſo we tranſlate it:

To which of S. *Peter*, anſwers that of S. *Iude*, (as almoſt that whole Epiſtle doth to this) verſe 6. *And the Angels which kept not their firſt eſtate,* [or *principality*] *but left their own habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſſe unto the Iudgement of the great Day.*

THeſe two places are brought to prove, that the Devils, or evill ſpirits, are now in Hell, before the day of Judgement: I cannot ſee how it can poſsibly ſtand with the reſt of the Scripture, which teſtifies every where that they have their manſion in the Aire, and here about the earth, where they tempt, ſeduce, and doe all the miſchiefe they

can to mankinde; hence their Chieftain Satan is ſtyled, The Prince of the power of the Aire, that is, of the aiery Dominion or Princedome. Therefore hither they were with their Prince exiled from Heaven, and no further, nor ſhall be untill the Day of Judgement. And of this I ſhall ſpeak at this time: Firſt, to clear theſe Texts which ſeem to make for the contrary: Secondly, to enquire what was the opinions of the Ancients about this point.

As for this place of S. *Peter*, and that imitation thereof in the Epiſtle of *Jude*, I can beleeve the tranſlation of neither: *Piſcator* (not conceiving how that of S. *Jude* (eſpecially becauſe of the word [ἀϊδίοις] *eternall*) could be reconciled with other Scripture, and experience, which ſhews us that the Evill ſpirits are not yet bound with eternall chains, having ſo much liberty of gadding about) ſupplies in the Text *vinciendos*, as if there were an Ellipſis, reading it thus, *Iudicio magni illius Diei vinculis aeternis* (*vinciendos*) *reſervâſſe.*

In that of S. *Peter*, if I underſtand him, he takes σειραῖς ζόφου, not for *Dativus inſtrumenti*, with

with chains of darkneſſe, but as *Dativus acquiſitionis*, for chains of darkneſſe; and conſtrues it with παρέδωκεν, as if it were, *He delivered them for chains of darkneſſe*; namely, ſuppoſing a trajection of the words.

But for my part I take both σειραῖς ζόφου, in S. *Peter*, and δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις, in S. *Iude*, to be neither of them *Dativus Inſtrumenti*; but both *Acquiſitionis*, or *Finis*, and governed the one of τετηρημένους, and the other of τετήρηκεν· that is, σειραῖς, to be put for εἰς σειράς, and δεσμοῖς for εἰς δεσμούς· —— As in the Hebrew, the prepoſition ל, ſerves for the prepoſition εἰς, and for the Dative Caſe, whoſe propriety the ſtyle of the Greek Teſtament every where imitates, and why not in this? σειραῖς therefore and δεσμοῖς, are here למוסרים, not במוסרים; Nay, among the Greek Grammarians we find obſerved, that the Dative Caſe is ſometimes put for the Accuſative with the prepoſition εἰς· As in this example, ὁρμᾷ διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος τῇ πόλει, that is, εἰς πόλιν· much more in the ſacred Greek, which ſo frequently imitates the Hebrew Conſtruction.

Next for the word ταρταρώσας in S. *Peter*, it

is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and ſo not bound by any uſe, or example to the ſignification we here give it, to wit, *throwing down to hell.* I would therfore rẽder it, *ad pœnas tartareas damnavit*, to wit, thus, *Angelos qui peccaverunt, cum ad tartari ſupplicium damnaſſet, catenis caliginis ſervandos tradidit ad Diem Iudicii.* For κρίσις here is ἡμέραν κρίσεως, as S. *Iude* hath it: So alſo *Mat.* 12. 24. *The Queen of the South ſhall riſe in Iudgement with this Generation*, (that is) in, or at the Day of Judgement: Or if I would render it, not *caſting down to hell*, but *caſting down to hell-ward*, ſo the meaning in both places will be, That the wicked Angels were caſt down from heaven, to this lower orb, there to be reſerved for chains of darkneſſe at the Day of Judgement; which ſenſe the ninth verſe in this Chapter of *Peter*, plainly intimates by way of reddition: *Novit Dominus pios in tentatione eripere*, as he did *Noah* and *Lot*, *Injuſtos verò in diem Iudicii cruciandos ſervare*, as he doth the wicked Angels. Moreover *verſe* 17. where the ſame helliſh darkneſſe is ſpoken of, it is ſaid, *to be reſerved for the wicked*, οἷς ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους εἰς αἰῶνα τετήρηται, *to whom that hideous darkneſſe is reſerved for ever*; whence

whence it is probable, that S. *Peter* in the foregoing paſſage of Angels, referred alſo thoſe chains of darkneſſe, to *reſerving*, and not to *delivering*; that is, not that the evill Angels were now already delivered to chains of darkneſſe, but reſerved for them at the day of Judgement.

And thus much for clearing of the words of theſe two parallel Texts; now what hath been anciently the current opinion of this point? And firſt, for the Jews, it is apparent to have been a tradition of theirs, that all the ſpace between the earth and the Firmament, is full of troops of Evill ſpirits, and their Chieftains having their reſidence in the aire; which, I make no doubt S. *Paul* had reſpect to, when he cals Satan *the Prince of the power of the aire*. *Druſius* quotes two Authors, one the Book called מנוי חדש, *Munus novum*, another one of the Commenters upon *Pirke Aboth*, who ſpeak in this manner; *Debet homo ſcire & intelligere, à terra uſque ad firmamentum omnia plena eſſe turmis, & præfectis, & infra plurimas eſſe Creaturas ledentes & accuſantes, omneſque ſtare & volare in aere, neque à terra uſque ad firmamentum*

locum esse vacuum: sed omnia plena esse præpositis, quorum alii ad pacem, alii ad bellum, alii ad bonum, alii ad malum, ad vitam & ad mortem incitant. By *præpositi*, I suppose, he means such among the Spirits as are set as Wardens over severall charges, for the managing of the affaires of mankind subject to their powers. This was the opinion of the *Iews*; which they seem to have learned by tradition from their ancient Prophets: For in the Old Testament we find no such thing written, and yet we see S. *Paul* seemes to approve it: Now for the Doctors of the *Christian* Church, S. *Hierome* upon the sixth of the *Ephesians*, tels us, that their opinion was the same; *Tis the opinion of all the Doctors*, (saith he) *that Devils have their Mansions and residence in the space between the heaven and the earth.* And that the Fathers of the first 300 or 400 years nor did, nor could, hold the evill Angels to have been cast into Hell upon their sin, is evident by a singular Tenet of theirs. For *Iustin Martyr*, one of the most ancient, hath this saying; that *Satan before the comming of Christ never durst blaspheme God, and that* (saith he) *because till then he knew not he should be damned.*

ned. The ſame is approved by *Irenæus* in his fifth Book and twentyſixt Chapter; *Præclarè* (ſaith he) *dixit Iuſtinus, quod ante Domini adventum Satanas nunquã auſus eſt blaſphemare Deum, quippe nondũ ſciens ſuam damnationem, Poſt adventum autẽ Domini, ex ſermonibus Chriſti et Apoſtolorum ejus, diſcens manifeſtè quoniã ignis æternus ei præparatus ſit* —— *per hujuſmodi homines* (he means thoſe Heretiques who blaſphemed the God of the Law) *blaſphemat cũ Deum, qui judiciũ importat.* Euſebius 4. *Hiſt. Cap.* 17. cites the ſame of both, with approbatiõ: So doth *Oecumenius* upon the laſt Chap. of the firſt of S. *Peter*. *Epiphanius* againſt Hereſie 39. gives the ſame as his owne aſſertiõ, almoſt in the ſame words with *Iuſtin* & *Irenæus*, though not naming thẽ; *Ante Chriſti adventum* (ſaith he) *nunquam auſus eſt Diabolus in Dominum ſuum blaſphemum aliquod verbum loqui, aut contra elationem cogitare: expectavit enim Chriſti adventum* —— *putavitque ſe miſericordiam aliquam aſſecuturũ eſſe.* I wil not enquire how true this Tenet of theirs is, but onely gather this, that they could not think the Devils were caſt into Hell, before the comming of Chriſt. For then how could they but have known they

they ſhould be damned, if the execution had already been done upon them?

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The Divines of later times, the Schoolmen and others, to reconcile the ſuppoſed Contrariety in Scripture, divide the matter; holding

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holding ſome Devils to be in the Ayre, (as Saint *Paul* and the Hiſtory of Scripture tels us) ſome to be already in Hell, (as they thought, Saint *Peter* and Saint *Iude* affirm'd) which opinion ſeems to be occaſioned by a Quære of Saint *Hieroms*, upon the ſixth of the *Epheſians*; though he ſpeaks but obſcurely, and defines nothing. But what ground of Scripture, or reaſon can be given, why all the Devils, which ſinned, ſhould not be in the ſame Condition? eſpecially *Satan*, the worſt and chief of them ſhould not be in the worſt eſtate, but enjoy the greateſt liberty? It follows that theſe places of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Iude*, are to be conſtrued according to the ſenſe, I have given of them; namely, that the evill Spirits, which ſinned, being adjudged to helliſh torments, were caſt out of Heaven into this lower Region, there to be reſerved, as in a priſon, for chains of darkneſſe at the Day of Judgement.

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Let a man ſo account of us, as of the Miniſters of Chriſt, and Stewards of the Myſteries of God.

A Man would think at firſt ſight, that this Scripture did exceedingly warrant our uſe of the word *Miniſter*, in ſtead of that of *Prieſt*, and leave no plea for them who had rather ſpeak otherwiſe. Howſoever I intend, at this time, to ſhew the contrary, (and even out of this text) that we have very much ſwarved herein from the Apoſtles language, and abuſe that word to ſuch a ſenſe, as they never intended; nor is any where found in Scripture; I favour neither ſuperſtition, nor ſuperſtitious men; yet truth is truth, and needfull to be known; eſpecially when ignorance thereof breedeth errour and uncharitableneſſe. My diſcourſe there-

therefore ſhall be of the words *Prieſt* and *Miniſter*, wherein ſhall appear how truly we are all *Miniſters* in the Apoſtles ſenſe, and yet how abuſively and improperly ſo called in the ordinary prevailing uſe of that word; I will begin thus. All Eccleſiaſticall perſons or Clergy men may be conſidered in a threefold relation. Firſt, To God. Secondly, To the People. Thirdly, One toward another. In reſpect to God, all are *Miniſters* of what degree ſoever they be; becauſe they doe what they doe by commiſsion from him, either more or leſſe immediate: for a *Miniſter* is he *qui operam ſuam alicui, ut ſuperiori, præbet.* In reſpect of the People all are *Biſhops*, that is, *Inſpectores*, or Overſeers; as having charge to look unto them: But laſtly compared one to another, he whom we uſually call *Biſhop* is onely Overſeer of the reſt; *Inſpector totius Cleri.* *Deacons* are onely *Miniſters* to the reſt; *Miniſtri Presbyterorum & Epiſcoporum*, and in that reſpect have their name Διάκονοι *Biſhops* are a degree of *Presbyters* of divine ordinance, to be as Heads, Chiefs, and Preſidents of their Brethren: All Eccleſiaſticall *Miniſters* whether *in Eccleſia*, or

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Foro Eccleſiaſtico (I mean whether they attend divine Duties in the Church, or Juriſdiction in Eccleſiaſticall Courts) are all a kind of *Deacons*, being to the *Presbyters*, either ſingle or Epiſcopall, as the *Levites* were to the *Sacerdotes* in the Old Teſtament, namely, to miniſter unto, or for them.

Theſe grounds being forelaid and underſtood,

I affirm, firſt, that *Presbyters* are by us unnaturally and improperly called *Miniſters*, either of the Church, or of ſuch, or ſuch a Pariſh: we ſhould call them, as my text doth, *Miniſters of God*, or *Miniſters of Chriſt*, not Miniſters of men.

Firſt; Becauſe they are only Gods *Miniſters* who ſends them, but the Peoples *Magiſtri* to teach, inſtruct, and overſee them: Were it not abſurd to call the Shepheard, the ſheeps *Miniſter?* If he be their Miniſter, they ſurely are his Maſters. And ſo indeed the People by occaſion of this miſappellation think they are ours, and uſe us accordingly. Indeed we are called *Miniſters*, but never *their Miniſters*, but as you ſee here, *Gods Miniſters*, *Chriſts Miniſters*, who

who imployeth us to diſpenſe his Myſteries unto his Church.

There are three words in the New Teſtament, tranſlated *Miniſter*, Διάκονος, Ὑπηρέτης, Λειτουργὸς· the firſt is moſt frequent; but not one of them is given to the Apoſtles, in the whole Scripture, with relation to the *Church* or *People*; you ſhall never find them called Διάκονοι, or ὑπηρέται τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, which is ſo frequent with us, but *Miniſters of God*; 2 *Cor.* 6. 4. 1 *Theſſ.* 3. 2. *Miniſters of Chriſt*, as in my text, and 2 *Cor.* 11. 23. *Col.* 1. 7. *Miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt*, 1 *Tim.* 4. 6. or Miniſters of that, which they miniſter, as *Miniſters of the New Teſtament*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. *Miniſters of the Goſpel*, *Epheſ.* 3. 7. *Coloſ.* 1. 23. But not Miniſters of them to whoſe behoofe they miniſter; yet might this ſpeech, *Miniſter of the Church*, if rightly conſtrued, be admitted; namely, if it be ſpoken by an Ellipſis, for Miniſter of God, for, and over the Church: ſo the Apoſtle *Coloſſ.* 1. 7. *A faithfull Miniſter of Chriſt for you*: that is, Chriſts Miniſter, not theirs; yet not for Chriſt, but for them; But thoſe who uſe this ſpeech commonly mean otherwiſe.

Secondly,

Secondly, Angels are called *miniſtring ſpirits*, but not our Miniſters, but Gods Miniſters to us-ward, or for our behaife: So *Miniſters of of the Goſpell*, not the Peoples, or Congregations Miniſters, but Gods Miniſters for their behoofe.

Thirdly, this ſpeech [*Miniſter of the Church*, or, *of this, or that Church*] is ſo much the more incommodious, becauſe it hath begotten (as incommodious and unapt ſpeeches doe) an erroneous conceit, not onely among the vulgar, but ſome of better underſtanding; namely, that a Miniſter is not lawfully called, unleſſe he be choſen by the People, becauſe he is *their Miniſter*, and ſo to be deputed by them: And indeed if he be their *Miniſter*, in proper relation, they are his *Maſters*, and ſo it is good reaſon they ſhould appoint him, as Maſters doe thoſe who are to ſerve them: But if in proper relation they are Gods Miniſters, and not theirs, (though for them) then God is to appoint them, or ſuch as he hath put in place to doe it. It is an erroneous opinion, that ſome maintain, That the *power* of *Sacred Order*, and of the *Keyes*, is given by God immediatly

to

to the body of the Congregation; and that they depute him who is their Miniſter, to execute the power which is originally in them; That power is conferred by God immediately to thoſe, who are *Biſhops*, and *Paſtors*, and, by and through them, belongs to the whole body, and no otherwiſe: *Tantum potuit incommodi ſermonis uſus.*

Some perhaps object againſt my whole aſſertion, that of S. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 4. 5. *We preach not our ſelves, but Chriſt Ieſus the Lord*, (to wit, *eſſe Dominum*) *and our ſelves your ſervants for Ieſus ſake*: If the Apoſtles were the Churches *ſervants*, why not their *Miniſters*? I anſwer, the Apoſtle ſayes not, they were the *Corinthians* ſervants, but that he had made himſelfe ſo, in his Preaching to them: So he ſayes expreſly 1 *Cor.* 9. 19. *For though I be free from all men, yet I have made my ſelfe a ſervant to all, that I might gain the more*: Yet he confeſſes the *Corinthians* began to vilifie him for this condeſcent, 2 *Cor.* 11. 7. *Have I committed an offence in abaſing my ſelfe, that you might be exalted, becauſe I have preached unto you the Goſpell of God freely?* This was that wherein he carried himſelfe toward

the *Corinthians* as a *Servant*, but to other Churches he did not ſo: It would be a ſtrange aſſertion, to ſay the Apoſtle were the Corinthians *Servant*, in a proper relation; we know he ſayes, *Gal.*1.10. *If I pleaſed men, I ſhould not be the ſervant of Chriſt*; And *Rom.* 6. 16. *Know ye not, that to whom you yeeld your ſelves ſervants to obey, his ſervants you are to whom you obey?*

I come now to a ſecond aſſertion, which is, that howſoever any Eccleſiaſticall perſon may be rightly called a *Miniſter*, (ſo it be in a proper relation to God-ward) yet the word *Miniſter* is again moſt unfitly uſed by us, for a name of diſtinction of one Eccleſiaſticall Order from another: As when we call thoſe which are *Presbyters*, *Miniſters*, by way of diſtinction from *Deacons*; for ſo we ſpeak *Miniſters* and *Deacons*, in ſtead of *Prieſts* and *Deacons*.

The reaſon we thus ſpeak, is to avoid the name *Prieſt*, which we conceive to ſignifie *Sacerdos*, that is, one that ſacrificeth, ſuch as were thoſe in the Law. But our Curates of holy things in the Goſpel, are not to offer Sacrifice, and therefore ought not to be called *Sacerdotes*,

Sacerdotes, and conſequently, not *Prieſts*. This is the reaſon; But if it be well examined, *Prieſt* is the Engliſh of *Presbyter*, and not of *Sacerdos*; there being in our Tongue no word in uſe for *Sacerdos*, *Prieſt*, which we uſe for both, being improperly uſed for a *Sacrificer*, but naturally expreſsing a *Presbyter*; the name whereby the Apoſtles call both themſelves, and thoſe which ſucceed them in their charge. For who can deny that our word *Prieſt* is corrupted of *Presbyter*? Our Anceſtors the Saxons firſt uſed *Preoſter*, which by a farther contraction came *Preſte*, and *Prieſt*. The high and low Dutch have *Prieſter*, the French *Preſtre*, Italian *Prete*, but the Spaniard onely ſpeaks full *Presbytero*. But, to come more near the point, our men in uſing the word *Miniſter*, for a diſtinctive name in ſtead of *Prieſt*, incurre four Soleciſmes: I mean when we uſe the word *Miniſter* not at large, but for a diſtinction from the Order of *Deacons*, ſaying *Miniſters* and *Deacons*.

Firſt, we run into that we ſought to avoid: For we would avoid to call the *Presbyters* of the *Goſpel*, by the name of the *Sacrificers* of the

Law; and yet run into it in ſuch ſort, that we ſtyle thoſe of the *Law* by the Euangelicall name, the Hebrew cals them of the Law *Cohanim* of כהן, which properly ſignifies to *Miniſter*, and thence comes the Greek word κονέω, and ἀγκονέω· but we call thoſe of the *Goſpell*, *Cohanim*, when we ſtyle them *Miniſters*. On the contrary, the Apoſtles ſtyle thoſe of the *Goſpel*, *Presbyters*; but we transferre that name to thoſe of the *Law*, when we call them *Prieſts*; this is counterchange;

Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.

Secondly, It is a confuſion or tautology, to ſay *Miniſters* and *Deacons*, that is, *Miniſters* and *Miniſters*: For Διάκονος is, in Greek, a *Miniſter*: The one is in Greek a Miniſter, the other in Latine; as if one ſhould ſay, *Homo* and Ἄνθρωπος, or *Diluvium* and *Cataclyſmus*; and think ſo to diſtinguiſh things of ſeverall natures, or Conditions.

Thirdly, We impoſe upon that Order, a name of a direct contrary notion to what the Apoſtles gave them: The Apoſtles gave them a name of *Elderſhip*, and *Superiority* in

in calling them *Presbyteri*, we of *inferiority*, and *ſubordination* in calling them *Miniſtri*: The Jews had no name more honourable then that of Elder, πρεσβύτεροι, for ſo they called their Magiſtrates: ſo we read of *Elders of the people*, and *Elders of the Prieſts and Levites*, meaning the chiefe in both ſorts; This honourable name the Apoſtles gave, as a name of diſtinction to the Euangelicall Paſtors, whereby they dignified them above thoſe of the Law; whoſe name in the Hebrew (as I ſaid before) is but a denomination of Miniſtery: And we have rejected the name of Dignity, of Fatherſhip, and Elderſhip, and aſſumed in ſtead thereof, a name of under-ſervice, of ſubjection, of Miniſtery, to diſtinguiſh our order by, I ſay to diſtinguiſh our order; For in a generall ſenſe, and with reference to God, we are all his *Miniſters*, and it is an honour unto us ſo to be, more then to be other mens *Maſters*, as our Apoſtle in my text intimates.

Fourthly, in the Churches beyond the Seas, there is a worſe Soleciſme by reaſon of

this miſapplied ſpeech. They have a kinde of Officers, who are the Paſtors aſsiſtants in Diſcipline, much like to our Church-wardens, theſe they call *Elders*, we ſtyle them *Lay-Elders*; Theſe are but a kinde of *Deacons* at the moſt, and of a new erection too; And yet theſe are dignified by the name of *Elders*, and *Presbyters*, who are indeed but *Deacons*, or *Miniſters*; and the *Paſtor* himſelfe is called a *Miniſter*, who in the Apoſtles ſtyle is the onely *Presbyter* or *Elder*. For ſo they ſpeak, *The Miniſter and his Presbyters, or Elders.*

To conclude, it had been to be wiſhed, that thoſe whom the terme of *Prieſt* diſpleaſed, as that which gave occaſion by the long abuſe thereof, to fancy a *Sacrifice*, had rather reſtored the Apoſtolicall name of *Presbyter* in the full ſound, which would have been as ſoon, and as eaſily learned and underſtood, as *Miniſter*; and was no way ſubject to that ſuppoſed inconvenience. But the miſ-application of the word *Presbyter* in ſome Churches, to an Order the Apoſtles called not by that name, deprived thoſe thereof, to whom it

was

was properly due. Howſoever when they call us *Miniſters*, let them account of us *as the Miniſters of Chriſt*, and not of men: Not as deputed by the Congregation to execute a power originally in them, but *as Stewards of the myſteries of God.*

S. Iohn 10. 20.
He hath a Devill, and is mad.

IT is a matter of greater moment, then perhaps every man thinks of, under what notions things are conceived, & from what property or Character the names we call them by, are derived. For hereby, not ſeldome, it comes to paſſe, That the ſame things, preſented to us under different notions, and names derived therefrom, are not taken to be the ſame they are. Even as he, that meets a man well known unto him, in an exotick diſguiſe, or antick habit, takes him to be ſome other, though he knew him never ſo well before. For example; a man would wonder that a *Comet*, (as we call it) being ſo remarkable and principall a work of the Divine

Divine power, and which draws the eyes of all men with admiration towards it, ſhould no where be found mentioned in the Old Teſtament: Neither there, where the works of God are ſo often recounted to magnifie him, (when as *Haile*, *Snow*, *Rain*, and *Ice*, works of farre leſſe admiration are not pretermitted) neither by way of alluſion and figured expreſsion, in the Prophets predictions of great calamities and changes, whereof they were taken to be preſages; eſpecially, when we ſee them borrow ſo many other alluſions, both from heaven and earth, to paint their deſcriptions with. Should a man therefore think, there never appeared any of them in thoſe times, or to thoſe Countreys? It is incredible: Or that the Jews were ſo dull and heedleſſe as not to obſerve them? That is not like neither: What ſhould we ſay then? Surely, they conceived of them under ſome other notions then we doe, and accordingly expreſſed them ſome other way: As what if by a *Pillar of fire*, ſuch a one perhaps as went before the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſſe? or by a *Pillar of fire and ſmoke*? as in that of

of *Ioel*, *I will ſhew wonders in the heavens, and in the earth, Blood, and Fire, and pillars of Smoke*: Or by the name of an *Angell of the Lord*, whereby no doubt they are guided? According as is ſaid of that Pillar of Fire which went before the Iſraelites, That *the Angell of the Lord*, when they were to paſſe the Red Sea, came and ſtood between them and the Ægyptians, when that Pillar did ſo. And who knows, whether that in the 104 *Pſalme*, may not have ſome meaning this way? *He maketh his Angels Spirits* (or winds) *and his Miniſters a Flame of fire*, to wit, becauſe they are wont to appeare in both. It comes in the Pſalme among other works of God in a fit place for ſuch a ſenſe; both in regard of what goes before, and follows after. Theſe, I ſay, or ſome of theſe may be deſcriptions of thoſe we call *Comets*; which becauſe they are diſguiſed under another notion, and not denominated from *Stella*, or *Coma*, hence we know them not.

Now, to come toward my Text; a like inſtance to this, I take to be that of the *Dæmoniacks* ſo often mentioned in the Goſpel: For I make no queſtion, but that now and then the

the ſame befals other men; whereof I have experience my ſelfe, to wit, To marvell how theſe Dæmoniacks ſhould ſo abound in, and about that Nation, which was the People of God; whereas in other Nations and their writings wee heare of no ſuch; And that too, as it ſhould ſeem, about the time of our Saviours being on earth onely; becauſe in the time before we finde no mention of them in Scripture. The wonder is yet the greater, becauſe it ſeems notwithſtanding all this, by the Story of the Goſpel, not to have been accounted then by the people of the Jews, any ſtrange or extraordinary thing, but as a matter uſuall; nor beſides is taken notice of by any forraine Story.

To meet with all theſe difficulties, (which I ſee not how otherwiſe can be eaſily ſatisfied) I am perſwaded (till I ſhall heare better reaſon to the contrary) that theſe *Dæmoniacks* were no other then ſuch as we call *mad-men*, and *Lunaticks*; at leaſt that we comprehend them under thoſe names, and that therefore they both ſtill are, and in all times and places have

have been, much more frequent then we imagine. The cauſe of which our miſtake, is that diſguiſe of another name, and notion, then we conceive them by; which makes us take them to be diverſe which are the ſame.

That you may rightly underſtand this my Aſſertion (before I acquaint you with the reaſons which induce me thereunto) you muſt know, that the Maſters of Phyſick tell us of two kinds of *Deliration*, or alienation of the underſtanding; One *ex vi morbi*, that, namely, which is with or from a Fever, called *Delirium* or *Phrenitis* (the latter being a higher degree then the former;) Another kind *ſine Febre*, when a man, having no other diſeaſe, is craſed and diſturbed in his wits.

And this they ſay is either ſimple dotage, proceeding from ſome weakneſſe of the brain or intellective faculty; or *Melancholia* and *Mania*, which they deſcribe and diſtinguiſh thus: Both of them to be when the underſtanding is ſo diſturbed, that men imagine, ſpeak, and do things, which are moſt abſurd, and contrary to all reaſon, ſenſe, and uſe of men. But their difference to be in this, that *melancholia*

lia is attended with feare, ſadnes, ſilence, retiredneſſe and the like ſymptomes. *Mania* with rage, raving, and fury, and actions ſutable, which is moſt probably ſtyled *madneſſe*. Now then, I ſay, that thoſe *Dæmoniacks* in the Goſpel were ſuch as we call *mad-men*: underſtand me to mean not of Deliration *ex vi morbi*, or of ſimple dotage, but of thoſe two laſt kinds, *Melancholici* and *Maniaci*, whereunto adde *morbus Comitialis*. or falling ſicknes, and whatſoever is properly called *Lunacy*.

Such as theſe I ſay, the Jewes beleeved (and ſo may we) to be troubled and acted with evill Spirits: as it is ſaid of *Sauls* Melancholy, *That an evill Spirit from the Lord troubled him*, and therefore, paſsing by all other cauſes and Symptomes, they thought fit to give them their Name from this calling them שדים בעלי, or Δαιμονιζόμενοι. An occaſion, of the more frequent uſe of which expreſsion, in our Saviours time and the ages immediatly before him, then formerly, had been, or may ſeem to have been given by the ſect of Sadduces, which, after the time of *Hyrcanus*, had much prevailed, and affirmed (as Saint

Luke

Luke tels us) *that there was no reſurrection, neither Angel nor Spirit.* To affront, and cry downe whoſe errour, it is like enough the Phariſees, and the reſt of the right-beleeving Jews who followed them, affected to draw their expreſsions (whereſoever they could) from *Angels* and *Spirits*, as preſently they did, in the *Acts*, when Saint *Paul* awakened their faction in the Councel, ſaying, *I am a Phariſee, and the ſonne of a Phariſee, &c. We find no evill, ſay they, in this man, but if a Spirit or an Angel hath ſpoken unto him, let us not fight againſt God.*

Having thus ſufficiently ſtated, and explicated my aſſertion; now you ſhall hear what grounds I have for the ſame. Firſt therefore, I prove it out of the Goſpel it ſelfe, & that in the firſt place from this Scripture, which I have choſen for my text, Δαιμόνιον ἔχει καὶ μαίνεται, *he hath a Devil & is mad.* Where I ſuppoſe the latter words to be an explication of the former. Secondly, I prove it out of *Mat.* 17.15. where it is ſaid, *There came to our Saviour a certain man kneeling down to him, and ſaying; Lord have mercy on my ſonne,* ὅτι σεληνιάζεται, *becauſe he is Lunatick and ſore vexed: For oft times he falleth into the Fire, and oft*

oft into the water. That this *Lunatick* was a *Dæmoniack*, is evident both out of the 15. *ver.* of this Chapter, where it is ſaid, Our Saviour *rebuked the Devill and he departed out of him, and the child was cured from that very houre*: As alſo out of the 9. of the Goſpel of Saint *Luke*, where it is ſaid of the ſelf-ſame perſon, *Lo, a ſpirit taketh him, and he cryeth out, and it teareth him, that he foameth againe, and bruiſing him, hardly departeth from him.* By comparing of theſe places, you may gather, what kind of men they were which the Scripture cals Δαιμονιζόμενοι.

Now I come to other Teſtimonies: And Firſt, take notice, that the Gentiles alſo had the like apprehenſion of their *mad-men*, whence they called them *Larvati*, and *Cerriti*, where *Larvati* is as much as *Larvis, id eſt, Dæmonibus acti*: ſo *Feſtus*, *Larvati*, ſaith he, *furioſi & mente moti, quaſi Larvis exterriti*. And for *Cerriti*, they were ſo called, *quaſi Cereriti, hoc eſt, a Cerere perciſſi*. And therefore you may remember, that when *Menechmus* in *Plautus* faines himſelfe mad, and talks accordingly, the Phyſitian, who was ſent for to cure him, asks the old man who came to fetch him, whe-

whether he were *Larvatus* or *Cerritus*. If the Gētiles thought thus of their mad-mē, ſhould we think it ſtrange the Jews ſhould? I could tell you here, that the Turks conceit of their Mad-men, is not unlike this; but that they ſuppoſe the ſpirit that works in them, to be a good, rather then an evill one. But I let this paſſe.

My next teſtimony ſhall be out of *Iuſtin Martyr*, who in his ſecond Apology *ad Antoninum* to prove (at leaſt to a Gentile) that the ſoules of men have exiſtence, and ſenſe after death, brings for an argument their *Necyomantia*, and their *Evocationes Mortuorum*, together with other the like. And in the laſt place this of *Dæmoniacks*, where by his deſcription of them, we may eaſily gather what kind of people they were, which were ſo taken to be. *Ītē illi* (ſaith he) *qui à mortuorū manibus corripiuntur* (for ſuch were theſe *Dæmonia* taken to be) *atque humi abjiciuntur homines* τοὺς δαιμονιολήπτους καὶ μαινομένους καλοῦσι πάντες· which al call *Dæmoniacks* & *mad-men*: Δαιμονιόληπτοι therfore, and μαινόμενοι, were all one, as men then conceived. Note here that theſe Δαιμόνια were taken to be the ſouls

Soules of men deceaſed, and that not among the Gentiles onely, but (as may ſeem) among the Jews alſo. For *Ioſephus* in his ſeventh Book *De Bello Iudaico*, *Cap.*25. mentioning theſe Δαιμονιζόμενοι upon occaſion of a certain herb, ſuppoſed to be good for them, ſaith expreſly by way of Parentheſis, ταῦτα δέ (ſcil. Δαιμόνια) πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδυόμενα, *Spiritus ſunt peſsimorum hominum vivis immerſa.* I tell not this, meaning to avouch it for true; but onely that you might underſtand, how *Iuſtin Martyrs* argument proceeds, to prove that Souls have exiſtence after Death, from *Dæmoniaci*.

My laſt proof is taken from thoſe *Energumeni*, (which are all one with Δαιμονιζόμενοι) ſo often mentioned in the Church Liturgies, in the ancient Canons, and in other Eccleſiaſticall writings, many ages after our Saviours being on earth; and that, not as any rare and unaccuſtomed thing, but as ordinary and uſuall. They were wont to be ſent out of the Church, when the Liturgie began; as they did the *Pœnitentes*, *Auditores*, and *Catechumeni*, which might not be partakers of the holy Myſteries. If thoſe were not ſuch, as we

now a days conceive of no otherwiſe then as *mad-men*, ſurely the world muſt be ſuppoſed to be very well rid of Devils, over it hath been, which for my part I beleeve not. Nay, that theſe Ἐνεργούμενοι, or Δαιμονιζόμενοι, were ſuch as I ſpeak of, *Balſamon* and *Zonaras* both in their *Scholia* upon the Canons of the Church, will I think inform us: For, to reconcile two Canons, concerning thoſe *Energumeni*, which ſeem contradictory, one (called of the Apoſtles) in theſe words; *Si quis Dæmonem habet, ne fiat Clericus, ſed neque cum fidelibus precetur.* Another of *Timotheus quondam* Patriarch of Alexandria, ſpeaking thus, *Si qui fidelis* Δαιμονίζηται, *debet eſſe ſanctorum myſteriorum particeps.* To reconcile theſe, I ſay, they affirm, the former, which admits them, not to be meant περὶ τοῦ Δημιεκῶς, or Δι' ὅλου μαινομένου, of him, that is continually and always mad; *ne forte quid mali aut inhoneſti agat, aut Dæmoniacas voces emittat, ita ut populum Dei conturbet, atque divinum officium impediat.* But that of *Timotheus* that admits them, to be underſtood περὶ τοῦ ἐκ Διαλείμματος μαινομένου, of him that is mad but by fits, and hath his *Lucida intervalla.* And thus I have acquain-

quainted you with what I have obſerved, to confirme me in this opinion, and make no doubt, but there are more paſſages yet to be found, this way, then I have met with.

Vide Chryſoſtomi epiſtol. πρὸς Σταγείριον δαιμονιῶντα. Item de precibus in eccleſia pro Energumenis; Hom. 4, & 5. de incomprehenſibili Dei natura.

PROVERBS 21. 16.

The Man, that wandreth out of the way of underſtanding, ſhall remaine in the Congregation of the Dead. בקהל רפאים, in cœtu Gigantum.

IT is a queſtion ſometimes moved amongſt Divines, and worth reſolving; How, and by what name the place and condition of the damned (which in the Goſpell is called *Gehenna*) was termed, or expreſſed in the Old Teſtament before the Captivity of *Babylon*, and whilſt the firſt Temple ſtood. For preſently after the Return, the afore-mentioned name *Gehenna* began to be frequented; as appears both by the ſecond of *Eſdras*, the Chaldee Paraphraſt, and other Jewiſh writings, where that name is often found; as alſo by the Goſpel, where our Saviour uſeth it, as then vul-

vulgarly known amongſt the Jews. But it is as certaine, that before the Captivity or ſecond Temple (for ſo the Jews call the time of their ſtate after their return) this name was not in uſe; both becauſe it is no where to be found in the Canonicall Scriptures of the old Teſtament, which were all written within that time; and eſpecially, becauſe the ground and occaſion thereof was not till about that time in being; which was the pollution of the valley of the ſons of *Hinnom*, or *Tophet* by King *Ioſiah*, and the dreadfull execution of divine vengeance in that Place: Hence it became to poſterity to be a name of execration, and applyed to ſignifie the place of eternall puniſhment.

For this valley of *Hinnom*, (*Gehinnom*, or, as afterward they pronounced it, *Gehenna*) was a valley neer Jeruſalem, in a place whereof, called *Tophet*, the Children of Iſrael committed that abominable Idolatry, in making their Children to paſſe through the fire to *Moloch*, that is, burnt them to the Devil. For an eternall deteſtation whereof, King *Ioſiah* polluted it, and made it a place execrable, or-

daining it to be the place, whither dead Carkaſſes, Garbage, and other uncleane things ſhould be caſt out: For conſuming whereof, to prevent annoyance, a continuall fire was there burning. Yea, not man only, but the Lord himſelf, as it were conſecrated this place, to be a place of execration, by making it the field of his vengeance, both before and after. For firſt, this was the place where the Angel of the Lord deſtroyed the hoſt of *Senacharib*, King of *Aſſyria*, where one hundred and eighty thouſand of their Carkaſſes were burnt, according to that, *Eſay* 30. *Through the voyce of the Lord ſhall the Aſſyrian be beaten downe. For Tophet* (this was a place, I told you, in the valley of *Hinnon*) *is ordained of old; yea for the King it is prepared, he hath made it deep and large, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord like a ſtreame of brimſtone doth kindle it.* This was alſo the place, where the Idolatrous Jews were ſlain, and maſſacred by the Babylonian armies; when their City was taken, and their Carkaſſes left, for want of room for buriall, for meat to the fowles of heaven, and beaſts of the field; according to the word of

of the Lord, by the Prophet *Ieremy* in his ſeventh and nineteenth Chapters, *The children of Iudah have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the ſon of Hinnom, to burn their ſons and daughters in the fire, which I cammanded them not, neither came it into my heart. Therefore behold, the daies come, ſaith the Lord, that it ſhall be no more called Tophet, nor the valley of the ſon of Hinnom, but the valley of ſlaughter. For they ſhall bury in Tophet till there be no place. And the carkaſſes of this people ſhall be meat for the fowls of heaven, and the beaſts of the field, and none ſhall fray them away.*

Hence, as I ſaid, this place being ſo many waies execrable for what had been done therein, eſpecially, having been as it were the gate to eternall deſtruction, by ſo remarkable judgements, and vengeance of God there executed for ſin; it came to be tranſlated to ſignifie the *place of the damned*, as the moſt accurſed, execrable, and abominable place of all places; the *inviſible valley of Hinnom*. For ſuch was the property of the Jewiſh Language, to give Denominations unto things unſeen, from ſuch analogicall, and borrowed expreſſions of things viſible. By all which it is ap-

parent, that this notion of that name took its beginning after the Captivity, and was not in uſe before.

Still therefore we are left to ſeek, by what other name, and under what notion this *place of the damned* was expreſſed, before the word *Gehenna*, or *Gehennom* came to be uſed. I anſwer, out of my Text, it ſeemes to have been called *Domus*, or *Cœtus Gigantum*. *Vir qui erraverit à viâ intelligentiæ, in Cœtu Gigantum commorabitur.* In the Hebrew, *in Cœtu Rephaim*, which word properly ſignifies *Giants*, and to that ſenſe is alwayes rendred by the Seventy, γίγαντες, γηγενῆς, πτᾶνες, or ἀσεβεῖς, though we, and the later Interpreters, both in this, and ſome other places, take it for *manes*, or *mortui*, but the ancient, I think, deſerve the more credit, eſpecially it being confeſſed, that the word elſewhere ſo ſignifies. *In Cœtu Gigantum* therefore, that is, of thoſe *Giants*, and *Rebels* againſt God, of whom we read *Gen.6.* Thoſe mighty men, and men of renown of the old World, whoſe wickedneſſe was ſo great in the earth, that it repented, and grieved God he had made man; and to take vengeance upon whom,

whom, he brought the generall Deluge upon the earth, and destroyed man and beast from the face thereof. *Vir qui erraverit à viâ Doctrinæ*, The man that wandreth out of the way of understanding, shall goe and keep them company; that is, goe to that accursed place, and condition which they are in.

That this construction of *Cœtus Rephaim* is not improbable, may appeare, first, by the glosse of *Rabbi Solomon* upon this Text, in *Cœtu Rephaim*, that is, saith he, כעדת גהנום, *in Cœtu Gehennæ*; This notion therefore is not altogether new.

Secondly, it is strengthened by comparing with it other places of Scripture, where the like expression is used; as twise more in this Book of *Proverbs*; First, *Chap.* 11. 18. where we read according to the Vulgar, *Domus mulieris alienæ inclinata est ad mortem, & ad inferos semitæ ejus*; Here for *ad inferos*, the Hebrew hath אל רפאים, *ad Gigantes*; And the Seventy render it with an *exegesis*: ἔθετο παρὰ τῷ ἅδῃ μετὰ τῶν γηγενῶν τοὺς ἀζονας αὐτῆς, She hath put, or set her paths in *Hades*, or *Hell*, with the *Giants*. Again, *Chap.* 9. 18. *Aquæ furtivæ dulciores sunt, &*

panis

panis abſconditus ſuavior, & ignoravit, (namely, he that goes in to a ſtrange woman) *quod ibi ſint Gigantes, & in profundis Inferni convivæ ejus.* Here in ſome Editions of the Vulgar are added theſe words: *Qui enim applicabitur illi, deſcendet ad inferos, & qui abſceſſerit ab illâ ſalvabitur.* An Argument how this place hath been underſtood; For the meaning of both theſe places ſeems to be no other, but, That the ſtrange woman will bring them who frequent her, to *hell,* to keep the Apoſtate *Giants* company.

There is another place in the *Hagiographa,* where theſe *Rephaim* are mentioned, to wit, *Iob* 26.5. which though of a more ambiguous ſenſe, and ſcope, yet as it is tranſlated by the vulgar Latin, and well enough to agree with the Hebrew, ſeems to be no other, but a deſcription of *Hell* with the former; *Gigantes,* ſaith he, *gemunt ſub aquis, & qui habitant cum iis. Nudus eſt infernus coram illo (id eſt, Deo) & nullum eſt operimentum perditioni.* The meaning hereof ſeems to be this. The place where the old *Giants* mourn, or wail under the waters, and their fellow-inhabitants, the reſt of the damned

damned with them, even *Infernus*, and the place of Perdition it ſelfe, is naked and open to the eyes of God, from whom nothing is hid; which is agreeable to that, *Proverbs* 15. *Hell and deſtruction are before the Lord, how much more then the hearts of the children of men?* In this place the Iews take the word *Abaddon*, which we render deſtruction, for *Gehenna*; that is, elliptically, for *Beth Abbaddon*, the Houſe of deſtruction. And why then ſhould not the ſame word be ſo taken in that place of *Iob*? and *Nullum eſt operimentum perditioni*, be as much as, *Nullum eſt operimentum Loco perditionis*, or *Gehennæ*?

Compare with theſe places in the *Hagiographa*, two in the Prophets; One in the 14. of *Eſay*; where by way of a Poeticall or Propheticall *hypotypoſis* of the deſtruction or fall of Babylon, the King hereof is brought in comming to the *Rephaims*, or *Giants* in the other world. *Hell* (ſaith the Text) *from beneath is removed for thee, to meet thee at thy comming: it ſtirreth up the Rephaims for thee, even all the chiefe ones of the earth: And they ſhall ſay unto thee, Art thou alſo become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?*

The

The other is the 32 of *Ezekiel*, concerning the fall of Egypt, where their ſlain are beſtowed in like manner, in the nethermoſt parts of the earth, with the *Gibborim*; which ſignifies not onely mighty men, but *Giants*, and ſo is rendred in this place by the Seventy: And thus much from compariſon of places of Scripture.

A third Argument to make this notion probable, which I have repreſented, is this; Becauſe all the expreſsions almoſt in Scripture, whereby this place of eternall puniſhment is repreſented, relate and allude to ſome places or Stories remarkable for Gods exemplary vengeance executed upon ſinners. As that of *Gehenna* to the notorious Judgements of God in the valley of *Hinnon*, for Idolatry, and Blaſphemy. That of the *Lake of fire and brimſtone*, ſo often mentioned in the Apocalypſe, to the Lake *Aſphaltites*, the laſting monument of thoſe ſhowers of fire and brimſtone from heaven, wherewith *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* with the reſt of the Cities of the plain periſhed for their abominable luſts. Our Saviours expreſsion in his ſentence of condem-

condemnation, (*Go ye curſed into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devill and his Angels*) ſeems to relate to the puniſhment of the *Apoſtate Angels*, who for their rebellion were delivered unto chains of darkneſſe againſt that great Day.

And was not the deſtruction of the old world, by the generall *Deluge of Water*, as famous as any of theſe? Yea, not to be paralleld by any, but that ſecond *Deluge of fire*, at the laſt Judgement? How improbable is it then, that this ſhould not lend a denomination to the place or ſtate of eternall puniſhment, as well as the reſt?

Nay, which is more, S. *Peter* in his ſecond Epiſtle, and ſecond Chapter recites theſe laſt three together, as if they had been intended, as patterns of the eternall Judgement, and puniſhment of ſinfull men. *For* (ſaith he) *if God ſpared not the Angels that ſinned, but caſt them down to Hell, and delivered them to chains of darkneſſe, to be reſerved unto judgement.* 5. *And ſpared not the old world, but ſaved Noah the eight perſon, a Preacher of righteouſneſſe, bringing in the Flood upon the World of the ungodly*, (that is, of the *Rephaim*, for

for ſo the Seventy ſometimes turn it.) 6. *And turning the Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into aſhes, condemned them with an overthrow, making them an enſample*, or pattern (mark it well, μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν, (*i.*) τὴν κολάσεως τοῦ μελλόντων ἀσεβεῖν, of the puniſhment) *of ſuch, as ſhould after live ungodly*: (Hence, as I told you, was the Lake *Aſphaltitus*, or the Lake of fire and brimſtone, borrowed by S. *Iohn*, for a denomination of *hell.*) 7. *And he delivered juſt Lot, vexed with the filthy converſation of the wicked*; (If God did this) 9. *He knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of Iudgement, to be puniſhed.* Ye ſee the application, or reddition; and accordingly, how prone the deſtruction of the world of the *Rephaim*, or ungodly by the Deluge is, to give denomination, to the puniſhment of Hell, as well as the other two.

And now, I ſuppoſe, you look for my Application, and putting of the whole Text together, which I ſhall doe: *He that goeth aſtray from the way of underſtanding*, (that is, he that wandereth from the Law and Diſcipline of God: For that indeed is the true wiſdome.

Timor

Timor Domini principium ſapientiæ, The feare of God is the prime wiſdome; that is the meaning; or to ſpeak after our Academicall notion, the chiefe Philoſophy; whence, through all this Book of the *Proverbs*, the wicked man who hath no skill in this Divine Philoſophy, or Diſcipline of God, goeth for a *Foole*, and ſo is called) *muſt one day goe even to his Fellow-giants*; who, as *Baruch* ſayes in his third Chapter, were deſtroyed, becauſe they had no wiſdome, and periſhed through their own fooliſhneſſe. *Vir qui erraverit à via Doctrinæ, in Cœtu Gigantum commorabitur.* They who thus goe aſtray, ſhall goe to thoſe *Rephaims* of the old World, whoſe true ſons they are; that is, unto the place of everlaſting puniſhment; From which God deliver us.

GEN.

GEN. 49. 10.

The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, untill SHILOH *come, and unto him ſhall the gathering of the People be.*

IT is a Propheſie of the comming of Chriſt, and the time thereof; namely, when the *Scepter ſhall depart from Iudah*; then ſhould the comming, raigne, and Scepter of *Meſſiah* begin, and not till then. The end of the one, ſhould be the beginning of the other; whence ariſeth our demonſtration againſt the Jew, If the *Scepter* be already departed from *Iudah*, as we know it is, many hundred years ſince; then muſt Chriſt needs be come. For the *Scepter* was not to depart from *Iudah*, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet, untill *Shiloh* came.

For, that *Shiloh* here, is the name of *Meſſiah*, appears

appears by the ſubjunction annexed, *That the People*, or *Nations* (for it is עמים, in the plurall number) *ſhould be gathered*, or obedient, *unto him*: *Ergo*, he is to be a King of the Nations; and who ſhould this be but Chriſt?

That the ancient Jews ſo underſtood it, appears by all the three Targums, or Chaldee Paraphraſts. The Targum, called of Jeruſalem, renders expreſly: Untill the time when מלכא משיחא, *King Meſsiah* ſhall come: *Ionathan; parvulus filiorũ ejus*, that is, of *Iudahs* ſons, which one of the late Rabbies (ſaith *Buxtorf.*) expounds, *Rex Meſsiah, qui venit ex David, qui fuit minimus inter filios Iſai Patris ſui*: *Onkelos*; Untill *Meſsiah* come, whoſe is the Kingdome. Likewiſe in their Thalmud, *Shiloh* is reckoned among the names of *Meſsiah*.

Thus we, and the ancient Jews agree, about the aime and purpoſe of this Scripture. But we Chriſtians beleeve further, that it is long ſince fulfilled: Howſoever for the very point of time, when this Scepter departed from *Iudah*, we vary in our opinions. Some will have it to have been, when *Pompey* firſt

brought the Jewiſh State under the Romane ſubjection. Others a little after; when *Herod*, an Idumean ſtranger, yet formerly incorporated into the Jewiſh State and blood, was by the Romans inveſted to be their King, and the Haſmonæan, or Maccabæan race (which till then had born the chiefe rule) by him extinguiſhed. Others, not till the deſtruction, and finall diſſolution of the Jewiſh State by *Titus*.

Theſe are principall moments of time, to be pitched upon: But againſt the firſt, the ſubjecting of the Jewiſh State to the Romans, is objected; Firſt, that it anticipates the time of Chriſts birth too much, being ſixty years before it. Secondly, that it might as well be affirmed, that the Scepter departed from *Iudah*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* carried them captive to *Babylon*; or when they were ſubject to the Perſian or Greek Monarchies, as when they were made ſubject to the Romans.

Againſt the ſecond, of *Herod*, lies the ſame exception that did againſt the former; that it was too early, being thirty years and more, before

before the birth of Chriſt; and more then twice as much, before his paſsion and aſcenſion, at what time he began his Kingdome. Secondly, that under the raigne of *Herod*, the Scepter of *Iudah* might ſeem rather to be advanced then departed; for as much as they had then a King of their own, raigning over them; and though not of Jewiſh originall, yet a Proſelyte, and ſo one of their owne body. And, if the Scepter were departed from *Iudah*, becauſe one not of their owne Tribe had the ſoveraigne rule over them; why was it not departed all the time, the Haſmonæan or Maccabæan families, who were Levites, raigned? No man would ſay, that the Scepter were departed from Poland, though the Polanders ſhould chuſe a Swede, a German, or a Frenchman, for their King. So neither from *Iudah*, though a Levite, or Idumæan Proſelyte were their Prince.

Againſt the laſt point of time, the diſſolution of the Jewiſh State by *Titus*, is excepted, that it is as much too long after, either the Nativity or the Paſſion of Chriſt, as the other two were before it; to wit, ſeventy years after

the one, and near forty after the other.

I mean not to enlarge my ſelfe any further, in acquainting you with each particular paſſage, agitated concerning theſe differing opinions, or alledged in the diſputing of them: I have ſelected onely ſo much, as I thought requiſite for the underſtanding of what I aim at, which is to ſhew you ſuch a conſtruction of theſe words, with but a little alteration of the common tranſlating; as being admitted, will leave no more place for thoſe difficulties, wherewith this queſtion is entangled.

For the handling whereof, I will divide the remainder of my diſcourſe into theſe two parts: Firſt, I will unfold the words of my Text, which ſeem to have any difficulty or obſcurity in them: Secondly, I will apply them to the time, wherein the were fulfilled.

For the firſt; I begin with the word *Scepter*, which is not to be reſtrained to *Kingly Dominion* only, but ſignifies any *power*, or *Majeſty of Government*, under what form or name ſoever; whereof a *rod*, or *ſtaffe* was anciently the enſigne,

ſigne, whence every Tribe is called שבט, (by the word here uſed) as being united together under one *ſtaffe*, or power of Government: The meaning therefore is not, that *Iudah* ſhould never ceaſe from having a *King*, or being a *Kingdome*; but that it ſhould not ceaſe from being a *State*, a body Politick, or Common-wealth, having a *power of Government*, and Juriſdiction within it ſelfe, untill *Meſsiah* came: wherefore the Seventy have for *Sceptrum*, or שבט, tranſlated Ἀρχὼν, not Βασιλεὺς· οὐκ ἐκλείψει, ſay they, Ἀρχὼν ἐξ Ἰούδα. For it is certain, that *Iudah* was ſo farre from being a continued *Kingdome*, untill Meſsiah ſhould come, that there was no *Kingly Royalty* in that Tribe, for more then two third parts of that time, namely, not till *David*, nor after *Zedekiah*, ſaving that of the Maccabees, (who were Levites) and of *Herod*, (by originall an Edomite) which both put together, will not make eighty years; yet were they never without ſome *Ruler*, or *Rulers*, of their own, all that time.

The next word I conſider, is *Law-giver*, which it will not be hard to underſtand, if

we mark wel, what is implied by *Scepter*; for מחוקק, the word here tranſlated, *Law-giver*, ſignifies not onely a maker of Laws, but *qui jus dicit*, he that exerciſeth Juriſdiction; and ſo differs not much from the former, if they be not altogether Synonyma.

As for the phraſe, *from between his feet*, it means nothing elſe, but *of his poſterity*; For ſo the Scripture modeſtly expreſſeth the place of generation; as it doth alſo by the word יך, *Femur*, or *Crus*. For where we reade in the 26. of this Book of *Geneſis*, and again in the firſt of *Exodus*; *All the ſouls that came out of the loins of Iacob, were ſeventy ſouls*: in the Hebrew it is, all the ſouls that came out of his *thigh*: whence, by the way, you may obſerve the occaſion of that Fable, that *Bacchus* or *Dionyſius* was born *ex femore Iovis*; which according to the Orientall expreſsion, (whence that whole ſtory of *Bacchus* came) implied no more, then that he was *Iupiters* ſon; but the Greeks, not underſtanding the meaning, converted it unto that Fable, which you all know.

Now for the word *Shiloh*, if we derive it, as

as I think we ſhould, it will ſignifie a *Peace-maker*, or *Saviour*, of the verb שלה, which ſignifies *Tranquillus*, *Pacificus*, or *Salvus fuit*. And if the Maſorites had ſo pleas'd, they might have pointed it שִׁלָה, which was the name of the eldeſt ſon of *Iudah* that ſurvived; and in the Hebrew Etymology, can ſignifie nothing elſe, but *Peaceable*, or *Peace-maker*. And whether the Patriarch *Iacob*, or the Holy Ghoſt directing him, might not chuſe this name, before any other, to deſigne *Meſsiah* in this Prophecy, in reſpect of the alluſion it had to one of *Iacobs* ſons, I will not affirm; but leave to your better conſideration. Others, following the Jewiſh Rabbies, go farther about, to bring the word *Shiloh*, to ſignifie *Filius ejus*, that is, *Iudahs*; conſtruing the Propheſie thus: *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, till his ſon* (namely, *Meſsiah*) *come*: For ה they will have put for the affix *Vau*, as ſometimes it is elſewhere שיל, to be for שליח, *Secundina*, (that wherein the infant is wrapped in the womb) and ſo by a Metonymie to ſignifie here, the Child it ſelfe. In a word, they will have שליח, to be for שליחו, *Secundina ejus*; and that

to mean *Filius ejus*. But this, me thinks, is ſomewhat too ambiguous, and therefore leſſe probable; but let every one follow his own judgement.

And now I am come to the Application, to ſhew at what point of time this prediction was fulfilled: To make the way plain whereunto, I muſt firſt alter a little the conſtruction of the remaining words; namely, *And unto him ſhall the gathering of the People*, or the *Nations, be*. For here the word, *ſhall be*, or *ſhall*, is not in the Hebrew, but added in tranſlating, and ſo may be left out; the words in the originall being onely, *Et ei aggregatio*, or *obedientia populorum*: I conſtrue therefore the word עד כי, or *Vntill*, ἕως ὅτου, as common to this with the former ſentence; namely, thus: *The Scepter ſhall not depart from Iudah, &c. untill Shiloh come, and the gathering of the people be to him*: (that is) Untill Meſsiah come, and the People, or Nations be gathered unto him, the Scepter ſhall not depart: Where note, that two things are ſpecified to come to paſſe, before the Scepter depart from *Iudah*, or *Iudah* ceaſes from being a Cõmon-wealth: Firſt, the

comming

comming of Chriſt, or Shiloh into the world: Secondly, the gathering of the Nations, or Gentiles unto him. For I conſtrue the word *Vntill*, as I told you, as common to both ſentences, *Vntill Shiloh come, and untill the Nations be gathered unto him.*

And now, me thinks, your thoughts might almoſt prevent me, in deſigning the time when this prediction was fulfilled: namely, neither when the Jews came firſt under the *Romane* ſubjection, for then *Shiloh* was not yet come: nor under *Herod*, or as ſome will ſeven years after him, when his ſon *Archelaus* being baniſhed, Judæa was reduced into a Province: For though Chriſt was then born, to wit, in the end of *Herods* raigne, yet were not the Nations or Gentiles yet gathered unto him: But at the deſtruction of the Jewiſh State by *Titus*, when both theſe things were come to paſſe, Chriſt being come, and the Gentiles converted unto his obedience, then did the *Scepter* depart from Judah, and they ceaſe from being any more a Commonwealth.

That this is the true application of this prediction,

diction, beſides the evidence of the event, appears by our Saviours Propheſie of this deſtruction of the Jewiſh State, in the Goſpel of S. *Matthew*; where, after he had named ſome other things to precede it, he addes this for the laſt ſigne; *And this Goſpell of the Kingdome*, ſaith he, *ſhall be preached in all the world for a witneſſe unto all Nations, and then ſhall the end come*: that is, the end of the Jewiſh State; when the Gentiles, by the preaching of the Apoſtles, ſhould be gathered unto Chriſt, then ſhould the Jewiſh Church, and Common-wealth be utterly diſſolved; which till then had continued united under ſome Polity, and form of Government from its firſt beginning; For ſo it pleaſed the wiſdome of Almighty God, when he would reject the *Iews*, not to diſſolve their State, till he had erected him anew among the *Gentiles*.

PSALME 8. 2.

Out of the Mouth of Babes and Sucklings, thou haſt ordained ſtrength, becauſe of thine enemies; that thou mighteſt quell the Enemy, and the Avenger.

THeſe words are alledged by our bleſſed Saviour, *Matth.* 21. 16. and three more of the verſes following this by S. *Paul*, to prove, that Chriſt muſt raigne till he had ſubdued all his enemies under his feet: As *Heb.* 11. fully; *What is man, that thou art mindfull of him? or the ſon of man, that thou viſiteſt him? 5. For thou haſt made him little lower then the Angels, and haſt crowned him with glory and honour. 6. Thou haſt made him to have dominion over the works of thine hands; thou haſt put all things under his feet.* Again, 1 *Cor.* 1. 15. *Chriſt*, (ſaith he) *ſhall deliver up the Kingdome to God the Father, when he ſhall have put down all*

all rule, authority and power. 25. *For he muſt raign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet.* 26. *The laſt enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed is death.* 27. *For he hath put all things under his feet.* This is the quotation; for it follows preſently; *When he ſaith all things are put under him, it is manifeſt that he is excepted, which did put all things under him.*

How principall a part of the Argument of this Pſalme, what is in theſe two places cited by S. *Paul* contains, every man may ſee, that reads, and compares them. But how it ſhould be conſonant to the meaning of the Pſalme, ſeems ſomewhat difficult to apprehend. For he that reads the whole Pſalme, would think it were nothing elſe, but a deſcription of *mans* excellency; whom God had made next to the Angels in Dignity, and given him dominion over all things he had made. For ſo after thoſe words, *Thou haſt put all things under his feet*; it follows immediatly, *All ſheep and Oxen, yea and beaſts of the field, the fowles of the aire, and the fiſhes of the Sea, and whatſoever paſſeth through the paths of the Sea.* But what is dominion over theſe, to ſubduing of enemies,

mies, which the Apoſtle cites it for? or how is that, which is a deſcription of *mankinde* in generall, a Prophecy of *Chriſt* in ſpeciall?

Some therefore, as in other citations of the Old Teſtament, ſo here alſo, betake themſelves to the covert of an alluſion; namely, that the Apoſtle onely borrows the words of the Pſalmiſt, to expreſſe his own, and not the Pſalmiſts meaning. But, howſoever this may have place in ſome other allegations of the Old Teſtament, which are for Illuſtration or Exornation onely; yet when the teſtimony is brought for proofe and demonſtration, as this is, it can in no wiſe be admitted. For how can that teſtimony be of force to conclude any thing, where not the Authors meaning is brought, but his words onely made uſe of? Others therefore ſay, that whatſoever is ſpoken of the Dignity and Excellency of *Man* in generall, is to be underſtood by way of eminency of *Chriſt*, the chief of the ſons of men. This indeed is ſomthing, but not enough. For what is the dignity of man, in regard of his Dominion and Lordſhip

ſhip over the creature, to conquering and ſubduing of enemies? which is that the Apoſtle ſeeks to demonſtrate thence.

Well, to hold you no longer in ſuſpence, the key of the interpretation of this Pſalme, and the ground of S. *Pauls* accommodation of that paſſage (*Thou haſt put all things under his feet*) to Chriſts victory, is to be ſought in the words I have now choſen; *Out of the mouth of Babes and Sucklings, &c.* which being firſt alledged by our Saviour in the Goſpel, in defence of that acclamation given unto him by his followers, *Hoſanna*, (that is, Save now) *to the Son of David*; which the Phariſees thought too high an attribute, to be deferred to fleſh and blood, this application thereof by Chriſt himſelfe, gave the Apoſtle good warrant, to interpret the Pſalme as he did, and to ground a Demonſtration thereon.

I ſhall therefore divide my diſcourſe into two parts; Firſt, I will ſhew the meaning of the words as they ſtand in the Pſalme: And ſecondly, make it appeare, that our Saviour in the Goſpel cites them according to that meaning.

The

The whole drift therefore of the Pſalme, is to praiſe and glorifie God for the dignity wherewith he hath inveſted *Man*: *What is man* (ſaith he) *that thou art mindfull of him, or the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him! For thou haſt made him little lower then the Angels, and haſt crowned him with glory and honour.* This *glory* and *honour* is exemplified in two particulars: Firſt, that God hath ordained man, even that weak and feeble creature, *Man*, to ſubdue and conquer his enemies; which is that my Text expreſſes in the words before named; *Out of the mouth of Babes and Sucklings, thou haſt ordained ſtrength, becauſe of thine enemies, that thou mighteſt quell the Enemie, and the Avenger.* Secondly, that he hath made man the Lord of all his Creatures: *Thou haſt made him*, (ſaith he) *to have dominion over the works of thine hands*: then follows, as it were the ſumming up of both in a word: *Thou haſt put all things under his feet.* For having ordained him, both the Champion to conquer thine enemies, and made him at his Creation the Lord and Ruler of the works of thine hands, *Quid reliquum eſt?* what honour couldſt thou have given him, which

which thou haſt not? *Lord!* (therefore) *what is man, that thou art mindfull of him, or the ſon of man that thou viſiteſt him?* Where is to be obſerved, that the Coroilarie, *Thou haſt put all things under his feet*, comes in before his time, namely, before the deſcription, of this exemplification of mans dominion over the creature, was fully ended; as if the Prophet, out of admiration, could hold no longer from telling us the ſumme of that Dignity, wherewith man was inveſted. *Thou haſt made him* (ſaith he) *to have Dominion over the works of thine hands*, and ſo one way or other, *thou haſt put all things under his feet.* Then follows the other part of the Deſcription, *All Sheep and Oxen*, over theſe thou haſt made him have Dominion, *The Beaſts of the field, the Fowles of the aire, and the Fiſhes of the Sea*: whereas in direct order it ſhould have ſtood thus; *Thou haſt made him have Dominion over the works of thine hands, over all Sheep and Oxen, the Beaſts of the Field, and Fowles of the Aire, and Fiſhes of the Sea*; And ſo in the upſhot; *Thou haſt put all things under his feet.*

For

For this laſt particular of mans dignity, to have Dominion over the Creatures, it is ſo plainly and evidently intended in the Pſalm, that I ſhall need ſpeak no more of it: I returne therefore to the former, to make it clear alſo. That God ordained man, not only to exerciſe Dominion over the viſible creatures, but to be the Champion to conquer and ſubdue his Enemies; which is the drift of the words I have choſen for my text.

Out of the mouth of Babes and ſucklings (ſaith he) that is, of mankind, who ſprings from ſo weak and poor a beginning; as of Babes and ſucklings; namely, out of the mouths of babes, not in *ſenſu compoſito*, but *diviſo*: Of ſuch whoſe condition is to be babes and ſucklings; not that they ſhould exerciſe this ſtrength he ſpeaks of, *To quell the enemy and the Avenger*, while they were babes; but that this power ſhould be given to ſuch, whoſe condition was to be ſuch. And this is marvellous enough, that God ſhould advance ſo weak a creature, and of ſo deſpicable a beginning, to ſuch a power, as to grapple with the Enemy, and overcome him. But behold, there is

ſomething more admirable, namely, that this ſhould not be done by the ſtrength of his *Arme*, but by the breath and power of his *Mouth*. *Out of the mouth of Babes and ſucklings thou haſt ordained ſtrength becauſe of thine enemies*, &c. What Enemies? *Thine*, ſaith the Pſalmiſt, and ſuch too, as are *ultores*, avengers, the enemies of both God and mankinde: And who are thoſe but Satan, and his Angels? thoſe Principalities and Powers of the Aire, thoſe κοσμοκρατορες, and *Rulers of the Darkneſſe of this world*, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaks: For when *mankind* is the one party, what can the other be but ſome Power, that is not of mankind? Beſides, who are the *Enemies* both of God and mankind but theſe? And of mankind eſpecially; *I put enmity*, ſaith God, *between thee and the woman, and between thy ſeed and her ſeed*; hence he is called *Satan*, the adverſary, or Fiend, and the enemy κατ' ἐξοχὴν *Behold, I give you power*, ſaith our Saviour to the ſevẽty Diſciples, *Luke* 10.19. *to tread on ſerpents, and ſcorpions, and over all the Power of the Enemy; Your Adverſary the Devil* (ſaith *S. Peter*) And this is he as I conceive who is here called the אויב ומתנקם, *the Enemy & the Avenger*; mans-

tor-

tormentor; which being found again in the 44. Pſalm, may, for ought I know, by warrant of this place, be taken for the ſame Enemy, and the uſuall diſtinction altered, and the place read thus. *By reaſon of the Enemy and the Avenger, all this* (to wit, the Calamity, and confuſion he ſpeaks of before) *is come upon us*; that is, by the malice of Satan. Now that ſuch Enemies as theſe, ſhould be ſubdued by an arm; yea, by a *mouth* of fleſh, is a thing which might juſtly make the Prophet cry out; *Lord what is man, &c.*

Now, that this, which I have given, is the true meaning of this place, may be gathered from Saint *Pauls* inculcating the word *Enemy*; when 1 *Cor.* 15. he demonſtrates, out of this Pſalme, that Chriſt, before the end, ſhall aboliſh πάσαν ἀρχὴν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν, καὶ δύναμιν, *For He muſt raigne*, ſaith he, *till he hath put all enemies under his feet*: *The laſt Enemy which ſhall be deſtroyed is Death*: and then he alledges for his proof, that Corollary in this Pſalme, *For he hath put all things under his feet*: But, in all this Pſalme, there is no mention of Enemies, or ſubduing them, but onely in the verſe I

have in hand; which unleſſe it be thus expounded, Saint *Pauls* allegation from hence will be too narrow, to prove what he intendeth.

Having thus cleered the words I choſe for my Theame, I ſhall not ſpend much time to ſhew you, how directly, and literally, the purpoſe of them was fulfilled in our bleſſed Saviours incarnation: You have, in part, heard ſuch Scriptures already, as doe evince it. The ſumme is this: The Devill, by ſin, brought mankind under thraldome, and became the prince of this world, himſelf, with his Angels, being worſhipped and ſerved every where, as Gods; and the ſervice and honour due to the great God, the Creatour of heaven and earth, caſt off, and abandoned; and all this to receive at laſt, for reward, eternall woe, and everlaſting death. To vanquiſh and exterminate this enemy, and redeeme the world from this miſerable thraldome, the Sonne of God took upon him, not the nature of Angels, (which might have been the enemies matches) but the nature of weak and deſpicable man, that growes from a babe

and

and ſuckling: *Who*, ſaith *Eſay* (in that famous Prophecy of Meſsiah) *hath beleeved our report, and to whom is the Arme of the Lord revealed?* (namely, that works ſuch powerfull things by weak means:) *for he ſhall grow* [כיונק] *as a tender plant*, or ſucker; (it is the very word here uſed in my Text, for a *ſucking* child, and tranſlated by the Seventy ὡς παιδίον) *and as a root out of a dry ground*; that is, a ſmall and little one.

This is that whereof S. *Paul* diſcourſes ſo divinely, in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews: *To which of the Angels ſaid he at any time, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtool? For unto the Angels hath he not put in ſubjection the world to come, whereof we ſpeak; but unto him, of whom it is ſaid, What is man that thou art mindfull of him, or, &c.* Again, *We ſee Ieſus, who was made little lower then the Angels*, (that is, was made man; that is the meaning) *for the ſuffering of death, crowned with Glory and Honour*: what can be ſo plain as this? It is the ſon of man, by whom in part we are, and more fully ſhall be, delivered *out of the hands of our enemies*, that we might *ſerve* the true God *without feare*; as

Zachary ſayes in his *Benedictus*. It is the ſon of man that delivered us *from the power of darkneſſe*, *Col.*1.13. The ſon of man, that *ſpoiled Principalities and Powers, and made a ſhew of them openly*, *Col.* 11. 15. It was no Angel, that did all this; but the ſon of man; even as was prophecied from the beginning, when the Devill firſt got his Dominion; *That the Seed of the woman ſhould breake the Serpents head.*

Nor is this all; for this Son of man enables alſo other Sons of men his Diſciples and Miniſters to doe the like in his name: The ſeventy Diſciples, in the Goſpell, return with joy, ſaying, *Lord, even the Devils are ſubject to us through thy name*: Yea, not theſe onely, but as many as fight under his Banner againſt theſe enemies, have promiſe they ſhall at length queſl and utterly ſubdue them: Yea, at that great Day ſhall ſit with their Lord and Maſter, to judge and condemne them. *Doe ye not know*, ſaith S. *Paul*, *that the Saints ſhall judge the world? know ye not that we ſhall judge Angels?*

Laſtly, this victory, as for the event, ſo for the

the manner of atchieving it, is agreeable to our Prophecy. For as much as Chriſt our Generall, nor fights, nor conquers by forces of Armes, but by the power of his Word and Spirit; which is the power of his *mouth* according to my Text; *Out of the mouth of Babes, &c.* Hence, in the Apocalypſe, Chriſt appeares with a ſword going out of his mouth: In the 2 *Theſſ.* 2. it is ſaid, *He ſhall conſume Antichriſt with the Spirit of his mouth*: *Eſay* prophecies, *Chap.*11.4. That *the Branch of Ieſſe ſhould ſmite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips ſhould ſlay the wicked*; That is, he does all *nutu & verbo*, as God made the world: *By the word of the Lord were the Heavens made, and all the Hoaſts of them by the breath of his mouth, Pſal.*33.6. So doth Chriſt vanquiſh his enemies, and enable his Miniſters to vanquiſh them, *Verbo & Spiritu oris*, according to that *Hoſ.*6.5. *I have hewed them by my Prophets, and ſlain them by the words of my mouth.*

I come now to the ſecond thing I propounded; namely, to ſhew, that our Saviour in the Goſpel, when he cited this place, alled-

ged it for, and according to this, and no other meaning. The Euangeliſt relates it thus; When the Chiefe Prieſts and Scribes ſaw the wonderfull things that Jeſus did, and thoſe in the Temple crying, and ſaying, *Hoſanna to the Son of David*, they were ſore diſpleaſed; and ſaid unto him, *Heareſt thou what theſe ſay?* how they aſcribe the power of ſalvation, (which is Gods peculiar) to thee, who art a ſon of man? Is that ſolemne acclamation of *Save now*, wherewith we are wont to glorifie God, fit to be given to thee? Our Saviour anſwers, Yes; *for have ye not read*, (ſaith he) *Out of the mouth of babes and ſucklings, thou haſt ordained ſtrength?* conſider what that means. You will wonder perhaps, that a thing ſo plain, could be taken in a differing meaning. For, it is commonly ſuppoſed to be alledged, onely to prove that children ſhould glorifie Chriſt, whileſt the great ones of the world deſpiſed him: And there are two things which have occaſioned this miſtake, and drawn the ſenſe awry; The firſt is, becauſe the Seventy, (according to which the Euangeliſt reads this place) in ſtead of ſtrength, tran-

tranſlate here αἶνον, praiſe; *Out of the mouth of babes and ſucklings, thou haſt ordained praiſe.* Secondly, becauſe thoſe who made this acclamation, are ſaid to have been παῖδες, *When they ſaw the things which Ieſus did,* καὶ τοὺς παῖδας κράζοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. To the firſt, I anſwer, Our Saviour alledged not the words of the Pſalme in Greek, but in Hebrew; where it is עז, *ſtrength*, which is the conſtant ſignification thereof, through the whole Bible, and never *Praiſe*: Nor do the Seventy themſelves ever tranſlate it otherwiſe, ſave, as it ſeems, in this place. But whatſoever the uſe of the word, עז, be otherwiſe, it muſt be regulated by the Hebrew verity; according to which our Saviour alledged it, and muſt ſignifie not ſimply, *praiſe*, but *Robur prædicandum*, or *Robur laude dignum*, *Robur celebrandum*, or the like. To the ſecond, that they are called παῖδες, who made this acclamation of *Hoſanna*, to our Saviour, I anſwer, Be it ſo: yet I am ſure, they were no *babes and ſucklings*, but of reaſonable yeares; How then would our Saviours quotation have in ſuch a ſenſe been pertinent? Beſides,

young children are not properly called παῖδες, but παιδία. Again, the Phariſees found no fault with the ſpeakers, but with the thing ſpoken; which they thought too much for a man; and therefore our Saviour, when he alledged this Scripture, anſwered to that, and intended not to Apologiſe for the ſpeakers. Fourthly, in all reaſon, thoſe who cried here *Hoſanna* in the Temple, were the ſame company, that brought him crying *Hoſanna* all the way thither. But theſe (ſaith S. *Mark*) were of the *multitude* which followed him; as S. *Luke* of the *multitude of the Diſciples*; who alſo tels us, that the Phariſees, who were offended thereat, bad him rebuke his Diſciples. Παῖδες therefore here ſignifies, either Chriſts Diſciples, or the retinue, which followed him, and brought him up thither, as a King. Take which ye will, you ſhall not faſten upon the word, any notion, other then uſuall; I ſhall not need to tell ye, the Diſciples of the Prophets are called the ſons of the Prophets, that is, οἱ τῶν προφητῶν παῖδες or that *Herods* Courtiers, *Matth.* 14. are termed

med his παῖδες. *He ſaid,* τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ, *This is John the Baptiſt, &c.* Chriſt cals his Diſciples παιδία, *John* 21. 5.

ZACH.

ZACH. 4. 10.

Theſe ſeven are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth.

IT is hard to keep a mean; which, as appears in many things elſe, ſo, in the Doctrine and ſpeculation of Angels, whereunto men were heretofore ſo much addicted, as they purſued it, not onely to vain and ungrounded Theories, but even to Idolatry and ſuperſtition. There were in the Apoſtles times, who *intruded into things they had not ſeen.* There were then, who beguiled men with *a voluntary humility in worſhipping of Angels,* Col. 2. what after times brought forth, I ſhall not need ſpeak. That ancient, and high ſoaring (though counterfeit) *Dionyſius,* deſcribes the Hierarchy of Angels, as exactly as if he had dwelt amongſt them,

them, delivering unto us nine Orders of them, out of nine words, found partly in the Old, partly in the New Teſtament; *Seraphims*, *Cherubims*, and *Thrones*, *Powers*, *Hoſts*, and *Dominions*; *Principalities*, *Arch-angels*, and *Angels*, and tels us the ſeverall natures, diſtinctions, and properties of them all: Whereas it cannot be ſhewn out of Scripture, either that ſome of theſe names concurre not, (as Angels, not to be a common name to all the reſt, eſpecially to comprehend Arch-Angels) or that theſe are denominations of the natures of Angels, and not of their offices, and charges onely: yet have theſe nine Orders paſſed for currant through ſo many ages of the Church.

But we, who (together with divers ſuperſtitions) have juſtly rejected alſo theſe vain and ungrounded curioſities, are fallen into the other extreame; having buried the Doctrine of Angels in ſilence, making little or no enquiry at all, what God in his Word hath revealed concerning them: which yet would make not a little for the underſtanding of Scripture, wherein are ſo many paſ-

ſages

ſages having reference to them, and therefore queſtionleſſe ſomething revealed concerning them.

I ſhall not therefore doe amiſſe, if I chooſe for my diſcourſe at this time, a particular of that kinde, which *Dionyſius* in all his ſpeculations hath not a word of; and yet ſeems to have ſtrong footing in Scripture: It is this:

The Jews have an ancient tradition, that there are *ſeven* principall Angels, which miniſter before the Throne of God, and therefore called Arch-Angels; Some of whoſe names we have in Scripture, as *Michael*, *Gabriel*, *Raphael*, and in the ſecond Book of *Eſdras*, mention is made of *Ierechmiel* the Arch-Angel. This Tradition we ſhall finde recorded in the Book of *Tobit* (whoſe antiquity is before the birth of our Saviour:) For there the Angel, who in the ſhape of *Azariah* had accompanied his ſon into Media, when he diſcovers himſelfe, ſpeakes in this manner. *I am Raphael, one of the ſeven Angels, which ſtand and miniſter before the glory of the holy One.* The Greek hath, *which preſent the Prayers of the Saints, and*

goe

goe in and out, before the Holy One. But neither S. *Hierome*, who tranſlated it out of the Chaldee, nor the ancient Hebrew Copie ſet forth by *Paulus Fagius*, (and in likelihood tranſlated out of the ſame Chaldee Originall) hath any ſuch matter; but reads as I firſt quoted. And therefore it ſeems to be an addition, or liberty of the Greek Tranſlator, who thought their Miniſtery to conſiſt in preſenting the Prayers of the Saints, and ſo tranſlated accordingly.

This tradition is farther teſtified by *Ionathan ben uziel*, the Chaldee Paraphraſt, *Gen.* 11.7. where the Lords words, ſpoken in the plurall number, *Venite, deſcendamus, & confundamus linguam eorum*, are paraphraſed in this manner. *Dixit Dominus ſeptem Angelis, qui ſtant coram eo, Venite nunc, &c.* Whether rightly or fitly in this place, it matters not: The teſtimony is ſufficient for the Jewiſh tradition of ſeven Arch-Angels, that ſtand before the Throne of God.

This tradition *Iunius* ſaith, is magicall; and not a little triumphs therein, as an undoubted Argument to evince the Book of *Tobit*

Tobit not to be Canonicall; But whatſoever the Book of *Tobit* be, I hope to ſhew this tradition to have firme ground, and footing in Scripture, and not ſo raſhly to be rejected.

The chiefe and moſt cleare place, is that I have now read; which gives us to underſtand, that theſe *ſeven Angels* were repreſented by that Candleſtick of Seven Lamps, which continually burned in the Temple, before the vaile, over againſt the Mercy-ſeat; which was the Throne of God. For in the beginning of the Chapter, the Prophet being ſhewed this Seven-lamped Candleſtick in a Viſion, and two Olive-branches on each ſide, miniſtring oyle to the Lamps thereof: The Angel asketh him, if he knew what theſe meant: The Prophet anſwers; *No, my Lord*; Then the Angell, diſcourſing a little by way of Preface, tels him what they were: *Theſe ſeven*, ſaith he, that is, the ſeven Lamps, *are the ſeven eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth*: that is, thoſe Seven Vigils, or prime Miniſters of his Providence, the ſeven Arch-Angels. As for the two Olive-trees on each ſide; *Theſe are*, ſaith he, *two annointed ones, which ſtand before the Lord*

Angeli dicuntur ὄτα καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ magni Regis. *Philo: Lib. de Somniis.*

Lord of the whole earth; that is, *Zorobabel*, and *Ieſua*; the Prince, and Prieſt, at that time; which ſhould be Gods two inſtruments on earth, whereby his Church (ſignified by the Candleſtick) ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, and his Temple builded; and therefore *not by force, or ſtrength*, as he ſaith in his Preface, *but by the Spirit of God*, working with them; as the olive trees here conveyed oyle to the Candleſtick, not after a naturall and uſuall, but a ſupernaturall and ſecret manner. This interpretation of the latter, hath the ſuffrage of the beſt Expoſitors, both Jews and Chriſtians; and ſo I ſhall need ſay no more of it: but betake my ſelfe to make good the firſt, concerning the words I choſe for my Text, That thoſe ſeven eyes of God, ſignified by the ſeven Lamps, are ſeven Angels.

That this is ſo, I prove out of two places in the Apocalypſe, derived from hence; where as well the Seven Lamps before the Throne, as the Lambs Seven eyes are ſaid to be the Seven Spirits of God: *I ſaw* (ſaith S. *Iohn*, cap. 4. 5.) *Seven Lamps before the Throne, which are the Seven Spirits of God.* And again,

*cap.*5.6. *I ſaw in the midſt of the Throne, and of the foure Beaſts*, (as we tranſlate it) *and of the foure and twenty Elders, a Lamb, as if he had been ſlain, having ſeven horns, and ſeven eyes, which are the ſeven Spirits of God, ſent forth into all the earth.* Here firſt, we have *Zacharies* very words, *Seven eyes ſent forth into all the earth*: Secondly, That theſe ſeven eyes are the ſeven Spirits of God: Thirdly, that theſe ſeven Spirits were repreſented by the ſeven Lamps burning before the Throne. If this be not ſufficient to make my interpretation of *Zacharies* good, I know not what can be. For who can now but think, that the Jews derived their tradition of theſe ſeven Angels, from this place of *Zachary*, and the Apocalypſe from them both?

And that indeed the Jews ſuppoſed ſome ſuch thing meant by the ſeven Lamps in the Temple, appears by the report of *Joſephus*, though depraved and faſhioned unto the capacity of the Gentiles. For he tels us (both in his Antiquities, *Lib.*3.*cap.*7. and in his *De Bello Iudaico Lib.* 6. *cap.* 14.) that the ſeven Lamps ſignified the ſeven Planets, and the moſt holy place

place within the vaile, (*ibid.cap.*5.) the heaven of God, or heaven of Glory; and that therefore the Lamps ſtood ſloping wiſe, as it were to expreſſe the obliquity of the Zodiack: Now it is true, that the Jewiſh Aſtrologians, ſavouring of Gentiliſme, make theſe ſeven Angels the Prefects of the ſeven Planets, which they ſeem to have learned in part from the Greek Philoſophy; which conceit, howſoever it be vain and groundleſſe, yet may be as a key to underſtand the meaning of this of *Ioſephus*: And one thing more; If the viſible things of God may be learned, as S. *Paul* ſayes, from the Creation of the world; why may not the inviſible and intelligible word be learned from the Fabrick of the viſible? the one (it may be) being the pattern of the other; But to let this paſſe, and return again to the Apocalypſe.

Where concerning the places alledged, there may be two things objected: Firſt, That the *ſeven ſpirits* there mentioned, are, and may be expounded of the Holy Ghoſt, thus repreſented in reſpect of thoſe ſeven-fold, (that is, manifold) Graces he communicates

unto the Church: I anſwer, that many indeed have ſo taken it; but, beſides the uncouthneſſe of expreſsing one ſpirit by ſeven, there is a reaſon in the Text why they cannot be ſo taken; namely, becauſe not onely the ſeven Lamps are ſaid to be thoſe ſeven Spirits of God; but the ſeven Eyes, and ſeven Horns of the Lamb alſo, to be the ſame: Now it will be very hard and harſh to make the Holy Ghoſt, the Horns and Eyes of Chriſt, as he is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the ſins of the world; that is, as he is a Man: Above Angels, indeed the Man Jeſus is exalted, and that too for the ſuffering of death, that is, as the Lamb: but not above the Holy Ghoſt. This made not onely *Druſius*, but even *Beza* himſelf, in his Notes upon this place, to affirm, it could not be meant of the Holy Ghoſt, but of ſeven created Spirits.

A ſecond ſcruple is, how (if they be created ſpirits) *Iohn* could pray for Grace, and Peace from them: *Grace be unto you*, (ſaith he) *and peace, from him which is, which was, and is to come, and from the ſeven ſpirits, which are before his Throne, & from Ieſus Chriſt the faithfull witneſſe, &c.*

would

would he pray for Grace, and peace from Angels? I anſwer, Why not? For firſt, he praies not to them, but unto God, unto whom ſuch votes are tendered: Secondly, he prayes for Grace and Peace from them, not as Authors, but as the Inſtruments of God, in the diſpenſation thereof: Are they not λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, ſent forth to miniſter for them, who are heirs of ſalvation? And, if it be no Idolatry to pray unto God, to give Grace and Peace from the outward Miniſtery of his word; no more is it to pray unto him for it, from the inviſible Miniſtery. For certainly, it is lawfull to pray unto God for a bleſsing from an inſtrument, which hee is wont to give us by an inſtrument. Secondly, it may be ſaid, that the words, *Grace*, and *Peace*, need not to be taken in that ſpeciall and ſtrict ſenſe; but in the large and generall, wherein Grace ſounds favour at large, and Peace all manner of proſperitie. In which ſenſe, no man will deny, but the bleſſed Angels have an intereſt in the diſpenſation of the favours, and bleſsings of God to his Church: & ſo God may be prayed to, to give them, as he is wont, by their miniſtery.

ſtery. *Grace and Peace from him which is, which was, and is to come,* as the Author and Giver; *and from the ſeven Spirits,* as the Inſtruments; *and from Ieſus Chriſt,* as the Mediator. There is yet one place more in the *Apocalypſe,* to confirme this tradition, *chap.* 8. 2. *I ſaw,* ſaith Saint *Iohn,* τὰς ἑπτὰ Ἀγγέλους οἱ ἑστήκασι τῷ Θεῷ ἑστήκασι, *The ſeven Angels which ſtood before God.* Is not this as plaine as *Tobit*? Why ſhould then the one bee accounted Magicall, and not the other?

I add moreover, that theſe Angels are thoſe שרים הראשונים, *Principes primarii,* or chiefe Princes, mentioned in the 10. of *Daniel, Michael one of the Princes* (ſaith the Angell there) *came to help me*: Now, *Michael,* wee know, is one of the Archangels: And why therefore may not theſe chiefe Princes be thoſe Ἄγγελοι ἐκλεκτοὶ, whereof *Saint Paul* ſpeaks in his adjuration to *Timothy*? *I charge thee* (ſaith hee) *before God, and the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the Elect Angels;* not the good Angels, at large, but thoſe *Angeli eximii,* the ſeven Archangels, which ſtand before the Throne of God.

And it may, not without reaſon, be conjectured,

ctured, that thoſe ſeven chief Princes in the Perſian Monarchie, took their beginning from hence; And that *Daniel* (who in reſpect of his account for wiſedome, and of his power under *Darius* the Mede, had a maine ſtroke in the moulding and framing the government of that State) cauſed the Perſian Court to reſemble that of heaven; ordaining ſeaven chief Princes, to ſtand before the King. Of which wee finde twice mention in Scripture, as in the book of *Eſther*, where they are recorded by name, and ſtyled, *The ſeven Princes of Media and Perſia, who ſaw the Kings face, and ſate firſt in the kingdome*: And in the Commiſsion granted to *Ezra* by *Artaxerxes*, *Ezra* 7. 14. they are called, *The Kings ſeven Counſellors: Forasmuch as thou art ſent by the King, and his ſeven Counſellors, &c.* And it may bee, the Church of Ieruſalem, when they choſe ſeven Deacons to miniſter unto their Biſhop, had an eye the ſame way.

Hitherto of the number of theſe Archangels; now a word or two of their office: And that is; firſt, to be the univerſall inſpectors of the whole world, and the Rulers and Princes of the whole Angelicall hoaſt: which ap-

peares in that they are called *Principes primarii*, שרים הראשונים, and Αρχάγγελοι (i.) ἄρχοντες τῶν Αγγέλων· their universall jurisdiction is meant by the words, *sent forth into the whole earth*, whereas the rest are limited to certaine places. Secondly, to have the peculiar Charge and Guardianship of the Church, and affaires thereof, whilst the rest of the world, with their Polities, Kingdomes and Governments is cōmitted to the care of * subordinate Angels, who, according to their severall charges, may seem to carry those names of [a] Thrones, Principalities, Powers, and Dominions; That the charge of the Church, *quà talis*, belongs thus peculiarly & immediatly to the seven Archangels, may appeare by *S. Iohns* saluting the Churches with a Benediction of Grace and Peace from their ministery; and the typing of them by the seven Eyes and Horns of the Lamb; as Powers, which the Father, since he exalted Him to be Head of his Church, hath annexed to his

* Clemens Alex. Strom Lib. 7. Οὗτός ἐστιν. (scil *Filius Dei*) ὁ διδοὺς καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διὰ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων Ἀγγέλων, εἰσὶ γὰρ συνδιανενεμημένοι προστάξει θείᾳ τε καὶ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἄγγελοι κατὰ ἔθνη. *Vide* & Clementem Romanum Epist. ad Corinth *ubi citat* Deut. 30. 8, 9 *secundùm versionem* τῶν LXX. ἔστησεν ὁρία ἐθνῶν κατ' ἀριθμὸν Ἀγγέλων· *qui non* בני ישראל, *sed* שרי אל בני, *legisse videntur.*

[a] *Origen* seems to acknowledge but foure Orders, Θρόνοι, Κυριότητες, Ἐξουσίαι, Αρχαὶ· Cont. Cels. l. 4.

his Juriſdiction: Hence it comes to paſſe, that we finde theſe Angels peculiarly, both before, and in the Goſpel, to have been employed about the Church affairs: In the Old Teſtament, the Angel *Gabriel* (one of the ſeven) revealed to *Daniel* the time of the reſtauration of the Jewiſh State, and comming of *Meſsiah*: And the Angel *Michael* (one of the chiefe Princes) was his aſſiſtant, when he ſtrengthened *Darius* the Mede; who founded the Monarchy, which ſhould reſtore them, and is in ſpeciall termed (*Dan.* 12.) the Prince that ſtood for *Daniels* people. In the Goſpel, we finde the ſame Angel *Gabriel* imployed both to *Zachary*, and the *Bleſſed Virgin*, with the Euangelicall Tidings; and that *Zachary* might take notice that he was one of the ſeven, he ſayes unto him, *I am Gabriel that ſtand in the preſence of God.* Likewiſe in the Churches combate with the Dragon, *Apoc.* 12. *Michael* and his Angels are ſaid to be her Champions, and in her quarrell, to have caſt the Dragon and his Angels down to the Earth: And in this Prophecy of *Zachary*, it is ſaid, that theſe ſeven eyes of the Lord took care of one ſtone, which

which *Zorobabel* laid for the foundation of the Temple, and therefore the work could not be diſappointed, but ſhould certainly at length be finiſhed. So as, by this time, we may gueſſe the meaning of that which *Hanani* the Seer told King *Aſa* (2 *Chron.*16. 9.) *The Eyes of the Lord* (that is, theſe ſeven Eyes) *run to and fro through the whole Earth, to ſhew themſelves ſtrong in the behalfe of thoſe, whoſe hearts are perfect towards him.*

S. MARK

S. Mark 11. 17.

Is it not written, My Houſe ſhall be called a Houſe of Prayer, [πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι] *to all* [*the*] *Nations?*

THey are the words of our *Bleſſed Saviour*, when he caſt the Buyers and Sellers, and Money-changers out of the Temple, and forbad to carry any veſſels through it: Concerning which ſtory, it is worth obſervation, that our *Saviour*, whilſt he was upon earth, never exerciſed any Kingly, or coactive Juriſdiction, but in vindicating his Fathers houſe from prophanation; and this he did two ſeverall times; once at the firſt Paſſeover after he began his Propheſie, whereof you may read *John* 2. And now again at his laſt Paſſeover, when he came to give his ſoule a ſacrifice for ſin. This is that, which S. *Mark* relates in this place, as doe alſo two other of the Evangeliſts, S. *Matthew*, and S. *Luke*. The vindi-

cation

cation of Gods Houſe from Prophanation (how little account ſoever we are wont to make thereof) was with our bleſſed Saviour the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the firſt and laſt of his care; *Vbi incipit, ibi deſinit.* The conſideration of which, how momentous it is, I leave to your ſelves to judge: Thus much by way of Preface.

Now for underſtanding of the words I have choſen, I will divide my diſcourſe into a Queſtion, and an Obſervation. The Queſtion is; In what part of the Temple this Market was kept? A thing not commonly enquired after by Expoſitors, much leſſe defined: The Obſervation, That this fact of our Saviour more particularly concerns us of the Gentiles, then we take notice of. For the firſt, (in what part of the Temple this was done) The Jews Religion, and ſcrupuloſity, to keep their Temple from prophanation, was ſuch, as might ſeem to make this ſtory incredible. Thoſe who were ſo chary, that no uncircumciſed or unclean perſon ſhould come therein; who trod the pavement thereof with ſo much religious obſervance, and curioſity,

curioſity, who would not ſuffer (as *Ioſephus* relates) any other building, no not the Palace of *Agrippa* their King, to have any proſpect into it, leſt it ſhould be polluted with a prophane look; how unlikely is it, they ſhould endure it to be made a place of buying, ſelling, and bartering; yea, a Market for ſheep, and Oxen, as *Iohn* 2. it is expreſly ſaid to have been? Neither will it ſerve the turn, to excuſe it, by ſaying, it was to furniſh ſuch as came thither with offerings: For the ſheep, and oxen, whilſt they were yet to be bought to that purpoſe, were not ſacred, but prophane; and ſo not to come within the ſacred limits: You ſee the difficulty. But I anſwer, that this market was kept in the third, or *Gentiles Court*, which was the outmoſt of the Temple: For the Temple, in our Saviours time, had three Courts, each ſurrounding one another.

Firſt, the inmoſt or *Prieſts* Court, wherein ſtood the Temple, and the Altar of burnt offering: Into this none but the Prieſts, and Levites came: Secondly, the middle or *great Court*, which ſurrounded that of the Prieſts: whereinto the Jews of all ſorts, and circumciſed

ciſed Proſelytes came to worſhip; Without this was a third Court for the Gentiles, which ſurrounded the Iſraelites Court, as that did the Court of the Prieſts: The two firſt they accounted ſacred; calling them τὸ Ἅγιον; into which therefore none might enter, but ſuch as were circumciſed and clean, according to the Law. The third was without the ſacred limits, and ſo accounted prophane and common; which may be learned out of *Ioſephus*, who tels us of certain little pillars, or columnes, placed by the *Lorica*, or *Septum*, which ſevered this Court from the reſt, whereon was inſcribed in Greek (and Latin) μὴ δεῖν ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παρεῖναι· That no ſtranger paſſe within the ſacred limits; τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερὸν, ſaith he, Ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο· The ſecond part of the Temple was called Holy, as implying that the outmoſt was not ſo; Into this Court therefore, which had no legall ſanctity, and was without the ſacred limits, the Gentiles were admitted, and had their ſtation, together with ſuch of the Jews, as were in their uncleanneſſe; further they might not goe. By Gentiles here I mean ſuch, which though uncircumciſed,

Lib. 5 de Bello Judaico. c. 6.

circumciſed, yet worſhipped the God of Iſrael, and were called Σεβόμενοι.

In this Court therefore the Jews made no ſcruple of doing prophane and ſecular acts, being in their opinion no better then a common place. Nay, it is very probable, that to ſhew their deſpiciency of the poore Gentiles (according to that in the Apocalypſe, Ἔξω οἱ κυνὲς, *without are Dogs*) and to pride themſelves in their prerogative and diſcretion from them, they affected to have ſuch acts there done. And hence it came to paſſe, that they permitted a Market of Oxen and Sheep, Doves and other bartery, to be kept there, for the uſe of the Temple, and thoſe who came thither to worſhip. And thus the poore Gentiles, or Σεβόμενοι, were ſtabled amongſt Oxen, Sheep, and ſtals of Money-changers, and in that tumultuous place fain to offer up their devotions, and prayers unto the moſt high God, whom they had choſen.

But our bleſſed Saviour, who came to redeem, not the Jews onely, but the Gentiles alſo, and to make them a principall part of his fold, would not ſuffer them to be thus neglected,

neglected, but in this act of his gave them a *præludium* of his further favour intended toward them; and he that was to vindicate their ſouls from death, and take away the partition wall between them and the Jews, firſt vindicates their Oratory from prophanation; alledging for his warrant this place of the Prophet *Eſay*, *My Houſe ſhall be called a Houſe of Prayer*, πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. He did not ſay, My Fathers Houſe is holy: For the Jews would ſoon have replied, That the Gentiles Court was without the ſacred limits; But, *It is written*, ſaith he, *My Houſe ſhall be called a Houſe of Prayer for all the Nations*, *Ergo*, the place of prayer for all Nations is a part of my Fathers Houſe. If my Fathers Houſe, then holy, and not to be thus prophaned. For whatſoever is his, is holy; Relative Holineſſe being nothing elſe but the peculiarity a thing hath to God-ward.

Though therefore the Gentiles Court had no ſanctity of legall diſtinction, yet had it the ſanctity of ſuch peculiarity, and therefore not to be uſed as a common place. The illation proceeds by way of converſion; *My Houſe ſhall be called the Houſe of Prayer to all Nations*, or

or People; *Ergo*, The Houſe of Prayer for all Nations is my Fathers Houſe. And the emphaſis lies in the words, πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, which our Tranſlators were not ſo well adviſed of, when following *Beza* too cloſe, they render the words thus; *My Houſe ſhall be called of all Nations the Houſe of Prayer*: as if the Dative Caſe here [τοῖς ἔθνεσι] were not acquiſitive, but (as it is ſomtimes with paſsive verbs) in ſtead of the Ablative of the agent for ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. Which ſenſe is clear from the ſcope and purpoſe of the place, whence it is taken, as he that compares them will eaſily ſee, and I ſhall make fully to appear in the next part of my diſcourſe, which I tendred by the name of an Obſervation. 1 Kings 8. 41, 42.

To wit, that this fact of our Saviour more particularly concerns us of the Gentiles, then we take notice of. Namely, we are taught thereby, what reverent eſteem we ought to have of our Gentile Oratories and Churches, howſoever not endued with ſuch legall ſanctity, in every reſpect, as was the Temple of the Iews; yet Houſes of prayer as well as theirs. This obſervation will be made good

by a threefold Conſideration: Firſt, of the ſtory, as I have related it. Secondly, from the Text here alledged, for warrant thereof. And thirdly, from the circumſtance of time. For the ſtory, I have ſhewed it was acted in the Gentiles Court, and not in thoſe of the Jews: It cannot therefore be alledged, that this was a place of *legall ſanctity*: For according to legall ſanctity, it was held by the Jews as common: onely it was the place for the Gentiles to worſhip the God of Iſrael in; and ſeems to have been proper to the ſecond Temple: the Gentiles in the firſt worſhipping without at the Temple doore in the holy Mountain onely. Secondly, the place alledged to avow the fact ſpeaks expreſly of Gentile worſhippers, not in the words τοῖς ἔθνεσι onely, but in the whole body of the context: Heare the Prophet ſpeak, *Iſay cap.*56. *ver.* 7,8. and then judge; *The ſons of the ſtranger, that joyn themſelves to the Lord to ſerve him, and to love the Name of the Lord to be his ſervants; every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my Covenant,* (namely, that I alone ſhall be his God) *even them will I bring to my holy Mountains, and make*

make them joyfull in my Houſe of Prayer; their burnt offerings and ſacrifices accepted upon mine Altar. Then follow the words of my Text; *For my Houſe ſhall be called* (ſhall be; it is a Hebraiſme) *a Houſe of Prayer, for all People.*

What is this but a Deſcription of the Σεβόμενοι, or Gentile worſhippers? And this place alone makes good all that I have ſaid before; That this vindication was of the Gentiles Court: Otherwiſe the allegation of this Scripture had been impertinent; for the Gentiles of whom the Prophet ſpeaks, worſhipped in no place but this. Hence alſo appears to what purpoſe our Euangeliſt expreſſed the words, πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, namely, as that which ſhewed, wherein the force of the accommodation to this occaſion lay; which the reſt of the Euangeliſts omitted, as referring to the place of the Prophet, whence it was taken; thoſe who heard it being not ignorant of whom the Prophet ſpake. Thirdly, the circumſtance of time argues the ſame thing; if we conſider, that this was done but a few dayes before our Saviour ſuffered; to wit, when he came to his laſt Paſſeover: How unreaſonable

ſeaſonable had it been to vindicate the violation of legall and typicall ſanctity, which within ſo few dayes after he was utterly to aboliſh by his Croſſe, unleſſe he had meant thereby, to leave his Church a laſting leſſon, what reverence and reſpect he would have accounted due to ſuch places, as this was which he vindicated?

S. JOHN

JOHN 4. 23.

But the houre commeth, and now is, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in ſpirit and truth; For the Father ſeeketh ſuch to worſhip him.

THey are the words of our *Bleſſed Saviour* to the woman of *Samaria*, who perceiving him by his diſcourſe to be a Prophet, deſired to be reſolved by him of the great controverted point between the Jews and Samaritans; whether Mount *Garizim*, by *Sichem*, (where the Samaritans ſacrificed) or *Ieruſalem* were the true place of worſhip. Our Saviour tels her, that this queſtion was not now of much moment: For that the houre or time was near at hand, when they ſhould neither worſhip the Father in

Jud. 9. 7. The Euangeliſt here cals it Sichar. ver. 5. al as Sheehem.

Mount *Garizim*, nor at *Ieruſalem*. But that there was a greater difference between the Jews and them, then this of place; namely, even about that which was worſhipped: *For ye*, (ſaith he) *worſhip that ye know not: But we* (Jews) *worſhip that we know.* Then follow the words premiſed: *But the houre commeth, and now is, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and Truth.*

It is an abuſed Text, being commonly alledged, to prove, that God now in the Goſpel, either requires not, or regards not *externall* worſhip, but that *of the Spirit* onely: And this to be a characteriſticall difference between the worſhip of the Old Teſtament and the New. If at any time we talk of externall decency in rites and bodily expreſsions, as fit to be uſed in the ſervice of God; this is the uſuall Buckler to repell whatſoever may be ſaid in that kinde: It is true indeed, that the worſhip of the Goſpel is much more ſpirituall, then that of the Law: But that the worſhip of the Goſpel ſhould be onely ſpirituall, and no externall worſhip required therein (as the Text according to ſome mens ſenſe, and

and allegation thereof would imply) is repugnant, not onely to the practiſe and experience of the Chriſtian Religion in all ages, but alſo to the expreſſe Ordinances of the Goſpel it ſelf. For what are the Sacraments of the New Teſtament? are they not rites, wherein and wherewith God is ſerved and worſhipped? The conſideration of the holy Euchariſt alone, will confute this Gloſſe. For is not the commemoration of the ſacrifice of Chriſts death upon the Croſſe, unto his Father, in the Symbols of Bread and Wine, an externall worſhip? And yet with this rite hath the Church, in all ages, uſed to make her ſolemne addreſſe of Prayer, and Supplication, unto the Divine Majeſty; as the Jews in the Old Teſtament did by Sacrifice: when I ſay, in all Ages, I include that of the Apoſtles. For ſo much S. *Luke* teſtifieth of that firſt Chriſtian ſociety, *Acts* 2. Ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς· *They continued in breaking of Bread, and in Prayers.*

As for bodily expreſsions, by geſtures and poſtures, as ſtanding, kneeling, bowing, and the like; our bleſſed Saviour himſelf, lift up

his ſacred eyes to heaven, when he prayed for *Lazarus*; fell on his face when he prayed in his agony: S. *Paul* (as himſelf ſaith) *bowed his knees to the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt*: He and S. *Peter*, and the reſt of the beleevers, do the like more then onee, in the Acts of the Apoſtles: What was impoſition of hands, but an externall geſture, in an act of invocation for conferring a bleſsing? and that perhaps ſometimes without any vocall expreſsion joyned therewith. Beſides I cannot conceive any reaſon, why in this point of Euangelicall worſhip, *Geſture* ſhould be more ſcrupled at, then *Voyce*. Is not confeſsing, praiſing, praying, and glorifying God by voyce, an externall and bodily worſhip, as well as that of Geſture? why ſhould then the one derogate from the worſhip of the Father, *in Spirit and Truth*, and not the other? To conclude, there was never any ſociety of men in the world, that worſhipped the Father in ſuch a manner, as this interpretation would imply: And therefore cannot this be our Saviours meaning, but ſome other. Let us ſee if we can finde out what it is.

There

There may be two ſenſes given of theſe words; both of them agreeable to reaſon, and the analogy of Scripture; let us make our choyce. The one is, That to worſhip God *in Spirit and Truth*, is to worſhip him not with types and ſhadows of things to come, as in the Old Teſtament; but according to the verity of the things exhibited in Chriſt, according to that; *The Law was given by Moſes, but Grace and Truth came by Ieſus Chriſt.* Whence the myſtery of the Goſpel, is elſewhere by our Saviour in this Euangeliſt, termed *Truth*, as *Cap.*17. *ver.*17. and the Doctrine thereof by S. *Paul*, *The word of truth.* See *Epheſ. Cap.* 1. *ver.*13. *Rom.*15. *ver.*8. The time therefore is now at hand, ſaid our Saviour, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father, no longer with bloody ſacrifices, and the Rites and Ordinances depending thereon; but in, and according to the verity of that which theſe Ordinances figured. For all theſe were types of Chriſt, in whom being now exhibited, the true worſhippers ſhall henceforth worſhip the Father.

This ſenſe hath good warrant from the ſtate

ſtate of the Queſtion between the Jews and Samaritans, to which our Saviour here makes anſwer: which was not about worſhip in generall, but about the kinde of worſhip in ſpeciall, which was confeſſed by both ſides, to be tied to one certain place only; that is, of worſhip by *Sacrifice*, and the appendages; In a word, of the typicall worſhip proper to the firſt Covenant, of which ſee a deſcription *Heb.*9. This *Ioſephus* expreſly teſtifies, *Lib. Antiq. cap.*1. ſpeaking of the Jews and Samaritans, which dwelt together at Alexandria: *They lived*, ſaith he, *in perpetuall diſcord one with the other; whilſt each laboured to maintain their Country cuſtomes; thoſe of Ieruſalem affirming their Temple to be the ſacred place, whither ſacrifices were to be ſent; the Samaritans, on the other ſide, contending they ought to be ſent to Mount Garizim.* For otherwiſe, who knows not that both Jews and Samaritans had other places of worſhip, beſides either of theſe? namely their *Proſeucha's*, and *Synagogues*, wherein they worſhipped God, not with internall onely, but externall worſhip; though not with ſacrifice, which might be offered in one place only. And this alſo

also may seem to have been a type of Christ, as well as the rest, namely, that he was to be that *one*, and onely Mediatour of the Church, in the Temple of whose sacred body, we have accesse unto the Father, and in whom he accepts our service and devotions: according to that, *Destroy this Temple, and I will reare it up again in three daies*: *He spake*, saith the Text, *of the Temple of his Body*. This sense divers of the Ancients hit upon, *Eusebius Demon. Euang. Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 9. Οὐ δι᾽ συμβόλων ἢ τύπων, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ φησιν ὁ Σωτὴρ, ἐν πνεύματι & ἀληθείᾳ· *Not by Symbols and Types, but, as our Saviour saith, in Spirit and Truth.* Not that in the New Testament men should worship God, without all externall services: (For the New Testament was to have externall and visible services, as well as the Old) But with such as should imply the verity of the promises already exhibited, not by types and shadows of them yet to come: we know the Holy Ghost is wont to call the figured Face of the Law, the *Letter*, and the verity thereby signified, the *Spirit*. As for ἐν πνεύματι ἢ ἀληθείᾳ, both together they are ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, but once found in holy Writ; to

to wit, onely in this place. And ſo, no light can be borrowed by comparing of the like expreſsion any where elſe, to expound them: Beſides, nothing hinders, but they may be taken one for the expoſition of the other; that to worſhip the Father ἐν πνεύματι, is the ſame, with to worſhip him ἐν ἀληθείᾳ.

But howſoever this Expoſition be fair and plauſible, yet, me thinks, the reaſon which our Saviour gives in the words following, ſhould argue another meaning: *God*, (ſaith he) *is a Spirit, therefore they that worſhip him, (muſt worſhip him in Spirit and Truth*: But, God was a Spirit from the beginning: If therefore, for this reaſon he muſt be worſhipped in *Spirit and Truth*, he was ſo to be worſhipped in the Old Teſtament, as well as in the New.

Let us therefore ſeek another meaning: For the finding whereof, let us take notice, that the *Samaritans* at whom our Saviour here aimeth, were the off-ſpring of thoſe Nations which the King of *Aſſyria* placed in the Cities of Samaria, where he had carried away the ten Tribes captive. Theſe, as we may reade in the ſecond Book of the Kings, at their firſt comming

comming thither, worſhipped not the God of Iſrael, but the gods of the Nations from whence they came. Wherefore he ſent Lyons amongſt them, which ſlew them; which they apprehending, either from the information of ſome Iſraelite, or otherwiſe, to be, becauſe they knew not the worſhip of the God of the Countrey, they informed the King of *Aſſyria* thereof, deſiring, that ſome of the captiv'd Prieſts might be ſent unto them, to teach them the manner and rites of his worſhip; which being accordingly done, they thenceforth (as the Text tels us) worſhipped the Lord, yet feared their own gods too, and ſo did ἀμικτὰ μιγνύειν, as S. *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaks, mingle things not to be mingled.

In this medley they continued about two hundred years, till toward the end of the Perſian Monarchy. At what time it chanced, that *Manaſſe*, brother to *Iaddo*, the High Prieſt of the returned Jews, married the daughter of *Sanballat*, then Governour of Samaria; For which, being expelled from Jeruſalem by *Nehemiah*, he fled to *Sanballat* his Father in Law, and, after his example, many other of the

the Jews of the beſt rank, having married ſtrange wives likewiſe, and loth to forgoe them, betook themſelves thither alſo: *Sanballat* willingly entertains them, and makes his ſon in Law *Manaſſe* their Prieſt. For whoſe greater reputation and ſtate, when *Alexander* the Great ſubdued the Perſian Monarchy, he obtained leave of him, to build a Temple upon Mount *Garizim*; where his ſon in Law exerciſed the office of High Prieſt. This was exceedingly prejudicious to the Jews, and the occaſion of a continuall Schiſme, whilſt thoſe that were diſcontented, or excommunicated at *Ieruſalem*, were wont to betake themſelves thither: Yet, by this means the Samaritans (having now one of the ſons of *Aaron* to be their Chief Prieſt, and ſo many other of the Jews, both Prieſts and others, mingled amongſt them) were brought, at length, to caſt off all their falſe gods, and to worſhip the Lord the God of Iſrael onely: Yet ſo, that howſoever they ſeemed to themſelves, to be true worſhippers, and altogether free from Idolatry; nevertheleſſe, they retained a ſmack thereof, in as much as they wor-

worſhipped the true God, under a viſible repreſentation; to wit, of a *Dove*, and circumciſed their Children in the name thereof, as the Jewiſh Tradition tels us: who therefore alwayes branded their worſhip with עבודה זרה, or ſpirituall Fornication: Juſt as their predeceſſors, the ten Tribes, worſhipped the ſame God of Iſrael, under the ſimilitude of a Calf.

עבודה זרה, id eſt, *Cultus externus; ſic Idololatriã appellant.*

This was the condition of the Samaritan Religion in our Saviours time: and if we weigh the matter well, we ſhall finde his words here, to the woman, very pliable to be conſtrued with reference thereunto: You ask, ſaith he, of the true place of worſhip, whether Mount *Garizim*, or *Ieruſalem?* which is not ſo greatly materiall; For as much as the time is at hand, when men ſhall worſhip the Father at neither: But there is a greater difference between you and us, then of place; though you take no notice of it; namely, about the object of worſhip it ſelfe; *For ye worſhip what ye know not, but we* (Jews) *worſhip what we know.* How is that? Thus, Ye worſhip indeed the Father,

ther, the God of Iſrael, as we doe; but you worſhip him under a corporeall repreſentation; wherein you ſhew, you know him not; *but the houre commeth, and now is, when the true worſhippers ſhall worſhip the Father in Spirit and Truth*: In ſpirit, that is, conceiving of him no otherwiſe then in ſpirit; And in truth, that is, not under any corporeall or viſible ſhape: *For God is a Spirit, and they that worſhip him muſt worſhip him in Spirit and Truth*; ἀσωμάτως καὶ ἀληθῶς, not fancying him, as a body, but as indeed he is a Spirit. For thoſe who worſhip him under a a corporeall ſimilitude, do belie him; according as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *Rom.* 1. of ſuch as *change the glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made like to corruptible man, Birds or Beaſts; They changed*, ſaith he, *the truth of God into a lie, and ſerved the creature*, παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα *juxta Creatorem*, as, or *with the Creator who is bleſſed for ever*. Hence Idols in Scripture are termed *Lies*; as *Amos* 2. 4. *Their Lies have cauſed them to erre, after which their Fathers walked*: The vulgar hath, *Seduxerunt eos Idola ipſorum*. And *Iſay* 28. 15. We have made Lies our refuge. And

And *Ier.*16.19. *Venient gentes à finibus terræ, & dicent, Verè mendacium possederunt* (the Chaldee hath, *coluerunt*) *Patres nostri; vanitatem, in qua non est utilitas. Nunquid faciet sibi homo Deos & ipsi non sunt Dii?*

This therefore I take to be the genuine meaning of this place, and not that which is commonly supposed against externall worship; which I think this demonstration will evince; *To worship what they know*, (as the Jews are said to do) and *to worship in spirit and truth*, are taken by our Saviour for equivalents; else the whole sense will be inconsequent: But the Jews worshipped not God without Rites and Ceremonies (who yet are supposed to worship him in spirit and truth;) *Ergo*, to worship God without Rites and Cermonies, is not to worship him *in spirit and truth*, according to the meaning here intended.

See the Homily against the perill of Idolatry. *p.* 3. where the Text is peculiarly applied against worshipping of God in an Image.

S. Luke 24. 45.

Then opened he their underſtanding, that they might underſtand the Scriptures. 46. And ſaid unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Chriſt to ſuffer, and to riſe from the dead the third day.

OUr *Bleſſed Saviour*, after he was riſen from the dead, told his Diſciples, not onely that his ſuffering of death, and riſing again the third day, was foretold in the Scriptures; but alſo pointed out thoſe Scriptures unto them, and *opened their underſtanding that they might underſtand them*; that is, he expounded, or explained them unto them: Certain it is therefore, that ſomwhere in the Old Teſtament theſe things were foretold ſhould befall the Meſsiah. Yea *S. Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 15. 3, 4. will further aſſure us that they are; *I delivered unto you*, ſaith he, *firſt of all, that which I received, how that Chriſt died for our ſins, according to the Scriptures.* 4. *And that he*

was

was buried, and that he roſe again the third day, according to the Scriptures. Both of them therefore, are ſomwhere foretold in the Scriptures, and it becomes not us to be ſo ignorant, as commonly we are, which thoſe Scriptures be which foretell them. It is a main point of our Faith, and that which the Jews moſt ſtumble at, becauſe their Doctors had not obſerved any ſuch thing of Meſsiah. The more they were ignorant thereof, the more it concerns us to be confirmed therein. I thought good therefore, to make this the Argument of my Diſcourſe at this time, to inform both you and my ſelf, where theſe things are foretold, and if I can, to point out thoſe very Scriptures, which our Saviour here expounded to his Diſciples.

Which that I may the better do, I will make the words fore-going my Text, to be as the Pole-ſtar in this my ſearch; *Theſe are the things*, (ſaith our Saviour) *which I ſpake unto you, while I was with you, that all things muſt be fulfilled, which were written in the Law of Moſes, and in the Prophets, and in the Pſalmes concerning me.* Then follow the words I read, *Then opened he their*

understanding, &c. These two events therefore of Messiahs death and rising again the third day, were foretold in these three parts of Scripture, *in the Law of Moses*, or *Pentateuch*, *in the Nebiim*, or *Prophets*, *and in the Psalms*, and in these three we must search for them. And first for the first, that Messiah should suffer death.

This was fore-signified in the *Law*, or *Pentateuch*, first in the Story of *Abraham*, where he was commanded to offer his son *Isaac*, the son wherein his seed should be called, and to whom the promise was entailed, *That in it should all the Nations of the world be blessed.* What was here acted else, but the mystery of Christs Passion? to wit, that the promised seed should make all the Nations of the world blessed, by becomming a sacrifice for sin? for which, that it might be the more evident, the place is also designed; the region of Mount *Moriah*, there *Abraham* was bid to offer his son *Isaac*, even where Messiah, who was then in the loins of *Isaac*, was one day to be offered upon the Crosse.

The second prediction in the *Law* of Messiahs

ſiahs ſuffering death, was by the ſlaying of Beaſts, for the atonement of ſin, in their ſacrifices; which were nothing elſe but ſhadows and repreſentations of that offering upon the Croſſe, which Meſsiah was one day to make of himſelf for the ſins of the world; which myſtery of the end of thoſe legall ſacrifices, was ſhewed in the former ſtory of *Abrahams* offering *Iſaac*: For when he had now brought his ſon to the place appointed, and had built an Altar, and was now ready to ſlay him, as he was commanded; the Angell of the Lord ſtaied his hand, and ſhewed him a Ramme caught in a thicket by the horns, which Ram *Abraham* took, and offered for a burnt offering in ſtead of his ſon, to ſignifie, that the offering of the bleſſed ſeed was yet to be ſuſpended, and that God in the mean while would accept the offerings of Buls and Rammes, as a pledge of that expiation, which the bleſſed ſeed of *Abraham* in the loins of *Iſaac* ſhould one day make.

And thus much for the *Law*; now I come to the *Prophets*, wherein I finde three evident Propheſies that Meſsiah ſhould ſuffer death.

The firſt is that famous one the 53. of *Iſay*, the whole Chapter through; I will not repeat it all, but ſome two or three paſſages thereof: *ver.*5. *He was wounded*, ſaith the Prophet, *for our tranſgreſsions, he was bruiſed for our iniquities, the chaſtiſement of our peace was upon him, and with his ſtripes we are healed*: And *ver.* 7. *He was oppreſſed, he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; he was brought as a Lamb to the ſlaughter, and as a Sheep before his Shearers is dumb, ſo he opened not his mouth. Ver.*8. *He was cut off out of the Land of the living: for the tranſgreſsion of my people was he ſmitten.* Now that this Prophecy was one of thoſe, by which the Apoſtles uſed to prove this verity, appears by the ſtory of the converſion of the Eunuch, *Acts* 8. unto whom *Philip* comming whilſt he was in his Chariot, reading this place of Scripture, and he thereupon asking *Philip*, of whom the Prophet ſpake theſe words, the Text tels us, that *Philip began at the ſame Scripture, and preached unto him Ieſus.*

The ſecond place, which foretels that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, is that in the ninth of *Daniel*, who pointing out the time of Meſsiah's

ah's comming by ſeventy weeks, limits his account, not at his birth, but at his ſuffering; as the moſt principall moment of his ſtory. *From the going out of the commandement*, ſaith he, *to reſtore, and build Ieruſalem unto Meſsiah the Prince ſhall be ſeven weeks, and ſixty two weeks ——— and after ſixty two weeks, ſhall Meſsiah be cut off*: what can be more plain then this?

A third place in the Prophets, is to be found *Zachary* 12.10. where, at the time when the Jews ſhall be converted, Chriſt is brought in ſpeaking in this manner: *I will poure out*, ſaith he, *upon the Houſe of David, and upon the inhabitants of Ieruſalem, the ſpirit of grace, and ſupplication, and they ſhall look upon me, whom they have pierced.* Hence it follows, that the Jews ſhould have pierced Meſsiah before they received him to be their Redeemer. And that this place alſo was one of thoſe applied by the Apoſtles to this purpoſe, appears by S. *Iohns* twice alledging it. Once in his Goſpel, when the Souldier with a Spear pierced our Saviours ſide; *Then*, ſaith he, *was fulfilled that Scripture, which ſaith, They ſhall look upon him whom they have pierced.* Again, in the beginning of Joh. 19. 37.

Apoc. 1. 7. his *Revelation*, *Behold* (ſaith he) *he commeth in the clouds, and every eye ſhall ſee him, and they alſo which pierced him.*

Now for the third diviſion of Scripture, the *Pſalmes*, the principall place there which I dare warrant is that of the 16. *Pſalme*, quoted both by S. *Peter*, and S. *Paul* in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; *My fleſh ſhall reſt in hope, for thou wilt not leave my ſoule in the grave, neither ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee corruption.* For *David*, as S. *Peter*, and S. *Paul* ſay, was buried, and his body ſaw corruption, therefore it cannot be ſpoken of him; but of *Meſsiah* in the perſon of *David*, as a type in whoſe loynes Meſsiah was. Now then if Meſsiahs body were to be laid in the grave, it follows he was to die, and to be in the ſtate of the dead.

Acts 2. 26, 27. 13. 35

And thus I have done the firſt part of my task, and proved that Meſsiah was to ſuffer death, according to the Scriptures; namely, foretold in that threefold diviſion of Scripture, mentioned here by our Saviour: *The Law, the Prophets, and the Pſalms.* Now I come to prove the other part, that it behoved him alſo, *to riſe again the third day, according to the Scriptures.* And

And this was firſt foreſhewn in the ſame ſtory of *Iſaac*, wherein his ſacrifice or ſuffering was acted. For, from the time that God commanded *Iſaac* to be offered for a burnt offering, *Iſaac* was a dead man, but the *third day* he was releaſed from death. This the Text tels us expreſly, that it was the *third day*, when *Abraham* came to Mount *Moriah*, and had his ſon, as it were, reſtored to him again, which circumſtance, there was no need nor uſe at all to have noted, had it not been for ſome myſtery. For had there been nothing intended, but the naked ſtory, what did it concern us to know, whether it were the *third*, or the *fifth day*, that *Abraham* came to Moriah, where he received his ſon from death? Now, that I have not miſapplied this figure, S. *Paul* is my witneſſe, who expreſly makes this releaſe of *Iſaac* from ſlaughter, a figure of the Reſurrection. For thus he ſpeaks of this whole ſtory, *Hebrews* 11. *By faith Abraham when he was tried, offered up Iſaac; and he that received the promiſes offered up his onely begotten Son. Of whom it was ſaid, that in Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called. Accounting that God*

God was able to raiſe him up even from the dead: from whence alſo he received him in a figure.

The ſame was foreſhewn by the Law of ſacrifices, which were to be eaten before the *third day*; ſome ſacrifices were to be eaten the ſame day they were offered, but thoſe which were deferred longeſt, as the *Peace-offerings*, were to be eaten before the *third day*. The *third day* no ſacrifice might be eaten, but was to be burnt: If it were eaten, it was not accepted for an atonement, but counted an abomination: To ſhew that the ſacrifice of Meſsiah, which theſe ſacrifices repreſented, was to be finiſhed the *third day* by his riſing from the dead; and therefore, the type thereof determined within that time, beyond which time it was not accepted for atonement of ſinne, becauſe then it was no longer a type of him.

Thus farre the *Law*; as for the *Prophets* I finde no expreſſe prediction in them, for the time of Chriſts riſing (for that of the Prophet *Ionah*, I take to be rather an alluſion, then a a Propheſie:) onely in generall it is implyed, that Chriſt ſhould riſe again; both in that famous

mous Prophecy of *Eſay*, the 53. and that of *Zachary* 12. In the former it is ſaid, that after he had made his ſoule a ſacrifice for ſin, *Hee ſhould ſee his ſeed, and prolong his dayes*, and *the pleaſure of the Lord ſhould proſper in his hand.* And again, that the Lord ſhould *divide him a portion with the great*, and that he ſhould *divide the ſpoile with the ſtrong, becauſe he had poured out his ſoule unto death*: which argues that he ſhould not onely live again, but be victorious after he had died. In that of *Zachary* it is ſaid, the Jews ſhould *look upon*, or ſee *him whom they had* formerly *pierced*; and, that *in that day* he would *powre upon them the ſpirit of grace and ſupplication*: therefore he was to live again after they had pierced him.

I come to the *Pſalmes*, where not onely his riſing again is propheſied of, but the time thereof determined; though at firſt ſight it appears not ſo: namely, in that fore-alledged paſſage of the ſixteenth *Pſalme*, *Thou wilt not leave my ſoule in Hell, nor ſuffer thine holy One to ſee corruption.* All men ſhall riſe again, but their bodies muſt firſt return to duſt, and ſee corruption: But Meſsiah was to

riſe

rise again before he saw corruption: if before, then the *third day* at farthest; for then the body naturally begins to see corruption: this may be gathered by the story of *Lazarus* in the Gospel, where Jesus commanding the stone to be rolled from his Grave, *Martha* his sister answered, *Lord, by this time he stinketh; for he hath been dead four daies.* Also by that rule, given by the Masters of Physick, that those who die of the Apoplexie, suffocation of the Mother, or like sudden deaths, should not be buried till seventy two houres were past; Because within that time, they might revive; and examples are given of those who have done so. They give also a reason of it in nature; because, say they, in that time the humours of the body make their revolution; the flegme in one day, or twenty foure houres; the choler in two dayes, or forty eight houres; the melancholy in three dayes, which is seventy two houres: and this to be the reason why an Ague, founded in an inflammation of flegme, returns every day; an Ague, which comes from choler, every other day; from melancholy, every third day: Now if a body may

vid. Meursii Glos. sar. Græco-barbarum, in τριτεννᾶται· τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλοιοῦται τὸ ψιν. citat ex Triodio.

may be kept ſo long unburied, it is ſuppoſed it may be kept ſo long uncorrupted; (when a corruption is not begun before death, as in ſome diſeaſes) but longer it will not continue. When therefore it is ſo often inculcated in the New Teſtament, that our Saviour ſhould *riſe again the third day*; the Holy Ghoſt, in ſo ſpeaking, reſpects not ſo much the number of daies, as the fulfilling of Scripture, that Meſsiahs body ſhould not ſee corruption, but ſhould riſe before the time, wherein dead bodies begin to corrupt: & indeed our Saviour roſe again within forty hours, after he gave up the Ghoſt, and was not two full dayes in the grave. Therefore, if there be any other Scripture, which implies Meſsiah ſhould riſe before his body ſhould ſee corruption, that Scripture, whatſoever it be, ſhews he ſhould riſe again within three daies.

EXODUS 4. 25.

Then Zipporah took a ſharp ſtone, and cut off the the fore-skin of her ſon, and caſt it at his feet, and ſaid חתן דמים את־חלי כי ——*Sponſus ſanguinum tu mihi es.*

THEN; that is, when ſhe ſaw the Angell of the Lord ready to kill *Moſes* her husband in the Inne, becauſe his ſon was not circumciſed; *ſhe tooke a ſharp ſtone,* (צר) that is, ſhe took a knife, which, according to the cuſtome then, was made of *ſtone* ſharped. This we may learn out of *Ioſhuah* 5. 2. where the Lord ſays to *Ioſhuah*, *Make thee* חרבות צרים, (*ſharp knives*, ſay we) *ad verbum, cultros petrarum, and circumciſe again the children of Iſrael*: The Chaldee Paraphraſt hath, *Make thee, novaculas acutas*: the Septuagint,

gint, μαχαίρας πετρίνας. Thus farre all is cleare; but for the reſt, we are to ſeek: Firſt, on whom the fault lay, and what was the reaſon of this omiſsion of circumciſion: then, who, and what is meant, when it is ſaid, *ſhe caſt*, or *made the fore-skin to touch his feet*; and above all, what is meant by *ſponſus ſanguinum*.

Zipporah is commonly reputed to have been a perverſe, and froward woman; and *Moſes*, the meekeſt man on earth, to have had that miſhap in his choice, which many a good man hath. The reaſon, becauſe ſhe not only hindred her child from being circumciſed, out of ſome nicety and averſation thereof, as a cruell ceremony; but alſo, when ſhe ſaw there was no remedy, but ſhe muſt doe it, to ſave her husbands life, yet ſhe did it with an upbraiding indignation, telling him, that he was a *bloody husband*, who muſt have ſuch a thing done unto his poore child. But I ſee no ground either for the one, or the other.

For, that the circumciſion of the child was not deferred out of any averſation of hers of that ceremony, may be gathered; Firſt, becauſe ſhe

ſhe was a Midianiteſſe, and ſo a daughter of *Abraham*, by *Keturah*, and therefore well enough acquainted, and inured to that Rite, which not onely her Nation, the Midianites, but all the Nations deſcended of *Abraham* obſerved, as may be ſeen in the Iſmaelites, or Saracens, who learned not this ceremony firſt from Mahomet, but retained it as an ancient cuſtome of their Nation. Secondly, ſhe had ſuffered her elder ſon *Gerſhom* to be circumciſed; wherefore then ſhould we think ſhe was averſe from the circumciſion of this? for that this child, for whom *Moſes* was now in danger, was *Eleezar* his youngeſt ſon, it cannot be denied; For as much as it is evident, that *Moſes* at this time was the Father of two ſons, which, by reaſon, as may ſeeme, of this diſturbance, he ſent back with his wife, unto her Father *Iethro*, as we may reade in the eighteenth Chapter of this Book; By which it may be gathered, that the cauſe of this omiſsion of circumciſion, was not any averſeneſſe in *Zipporah*, from that rite, but rather, becauſe they were in their journey, when the child was born; and ſo having no convenient time or

place

place to reſt in, till the wound might be healed, and thinking it might endanger the infants life, to be toſſed up and down, whilſt the wound was green, in ſo long and tedious a voyage, they reſolved to deferre the circumciſion. And that *Zipporah* was delivered of this child, when they had begun this journey, for Egypt, may be gathered by this; becauſe *Moſes*, before Gods ſending him, hath but one child mentioned, namely, *Gerſhom*: For what reaſon can be given, why, if *Eleezer* had been then born, he ſhould not have been mentioned alſo? But, howſoever this caſe of travell afterward excuſed the Iſraelites in the Wilderneſſe, for deferring the circumciſion of their children then, yet could it not excuſe *Moſes* here; in regard it was *neceſsitas accerſita*, he being not forced to take his wife and children with him, (eſpecially his wife being in that caſe) but might have ſent them, and her, back preſently, to her Father; as upon this admonition he did. Nor was it indeed fit, when God ſent him upon ſuch a buſineſſe to carry ſuch an encumbrance with him.

Thus have we freed *Zipporah*, from the firſt charge of being the cauſe of this omiſsion out of any averſeneſſe to the Divine Ordinance: Now I come to ſhew likewiſe, that the words ſhe ſpake at the time of circumciſion, *Sponſus ſanguinum tu mihi es*, were no words of upbraiding indignation to her husband (as is ſuppoſed) but have a far other meaning.

For I beleeve not, ſhe ſpake theſe words to *Moſes*, but to her *Child* whom ſhe circumciſed, as the *Formula* then uſed in circumciſion; namely, that as the fore-skin fell down at her childs feet (not *Moſes*, or the Angels feet) ſhe pronounced the *Verba ſolemnia*, *Tu mihi ſponſus ſanguinum.*

My reaſons are; Firſt, becauſe a Husband is not wont to be called *ſponſus*, after the wedding ſolemnity is paſt; nor can there any ſuch example be ſhewn in Scripture; *Ergo*, it is not like that *Zipporah*, after ſhe was the mother of two children, ſhould ſay to her Husband, *Sponſus ſanguinum tu mihi es.*

Secondly, becauſe חתן, the word here tranſlated *Sponſus*, properly ſignifies *Gener*, a ſon

ſon in Law, and *ſponſus* only by way of equivalence or coincidence, (becauſe to be made ſon in Law to the Parents, is by being the daughters *ſponſus*) my meaning is that חתן, the word uſed, ſignifies not the relation of the Bridegroome to his Bride; but his relation to his Brides Parents, by taking their daughter to wife. And therefore in the whole Scripture, we ſhall never finde it relatively uſed, or with an affixe, but onely in reſpect to the wives Father or Mother: And of the ſame condition is the word כלה, which we often by equivalence tranſlate a *Bride*, but properly ſignifies *Nurus*; wherefore we ſhall never finde the Bridegroom cals the Bride his כלה, nor the Bride the Bridegroom her כתן, or that they are called ſo by others. But onely the Husband his Father and Mother in Laws כתן, and the wife her Father and Mother in Laws כלה; In a word, there is no word in the Hebrew Tongue, which ſignifies a *Bridegroome* and *Bride*, as they ſtand in relation each to other, but as to each others Parents onely: whence it is remarkable that in the *Canticles*, when this relation comes

to be expreſſed on the Brides behalfe, it is alwayes done by addition of the word אחותי, that is, *Soror mea*, as אחיתי כלה, the Callah, or *Nurus* my ſiſter, which we tranſlate *æquivalenter*, *ſoror mea ſponſa*. Now if this be true, I ſee not how *Zipporah* could call *Moſes* here her כתן, by ſaying to him כתן, *ſanguinum tu mihi es*; For ſhe ſhould have called him her ſon in Law, and not her Husband; *Ergo*, ſhe ſpake the words to the child, and not to him.

For a farther probability hereof, the Jewiſh Rabbins tell us, that it was the cuſtome of women to call their children when they were circumciſed, כתן; the word here turned *ſponſus*. *Aben Ezra* upon this place, *Mos mulierum*, (ſaith he) *vocare filium cum circumciſus eſt* כתן. *Rabbi Levi*, כתן, *in principio connubii vocatur, qui alicui promiſſus eſt. Inde tranſlatum ad initium rerum aliarum, ut cum infans recens circumciſus à mulieribus ſponſus vocatur. Nam tunc incipit Deo ſervire.* The like hath *Rabbi David Kimchi*, in his Lexicon, who conjectures withall, that כתן ſhould have ſome ſignification of cauſing new joy, and thence

to

to be u[illegible] both at the day of marriage, and circumciſion.

Fourthly, from this cuſtome to call a child at his circumciſion חתן; with the Arabians (who are of *Abrahams* poſterity, and ſtill uſe, and anciently uſed this Rite) *Chatan* is to circumciſe, *Chiten* circumciſion, מחתן, circumciſed, as is ordinarily ſeene in their [illegible]anſlation of the New Teſtament: whence [illegible]omes this? but from the manner of calling a childe חתן, when he was circumciſed; even as we, becauſe a childe in *Baptiſme* is made a *Chriſtian*, uſe the word *Chriſten* for *to Baptize*, and *Chriſtened* for *Baptized*: And *Zipporah* was an Arabiſſe, and the Arabian tongue of near affinity with the Hebrew.

Fiftly, this expoſition is agreeable to the following words, למולת וירף מבנו אז אמרה כחן דמים, *and he let him goe, when he had ſaid, Sponſus ſanguinum, hoc eſt, circumciſionis*; that is, the Angell let *Moſes* goe, as ſoon as thoſe *ſolennia verba, Sponſus ſanguinum*, were out of *Zipporahs* mouth: ſo the Vulgar rightly tranſlates it: *Et dimiſit eum, poſtquam dixerat, Sponſus*

ſus ſanguinum tu mihi es ob circumciſionem. For אז, is here, as elſewhere, for מאז, ex tunc, ab eo tempore, poſtquam, not ſimply tunc, as we tranſlate it: Namely, as the deſtroying Angel, *Exodus* 12. when he ſaw the blood of the Paſchall Lamb upon the lintels and ſidepoſts of the Iſraelites doores, paſſed by them, and deſtroyed them not; ſo the Angell here, when he ſaw the blood of the circumciſion upon *Moſes* child, let *Moſes* goe, and ſlew him not: In theſe words, if you mark it, the Holy Ghoſt expounds what *Zipporah* meant by thoſe words, *Sponſus ſanguinum*, that is, *Sponſus circumciſionis. Et dimiſit eum poſtquam dixit* חתן דמים למולות ——*Sponſus ſanguinum, id eſt, circumciſionis*; then are not theſe words ſpoken of, or to *Moſes*, but unto the child.

Having thus proved what I took in hand; that theſe words were not ſpoke by *Zipporah* to *Moſes*, but as *ſolennia verba*, in that caſe to her childe, whom ſhe circumciſed; it remains, I ſhould now tell you how they are ſo conſtrued. I ſay therefore, *Tu mihi ſponſus ſanguinum*, in *Zipporahs* meaning,

ning, is as much as *ſis mihi initiatus circumciſione*; It is well known, how tropically thoſe words of relation of kindred, *Father*, *Mother*, *Siſter*, *Sonne*, are uſed in the Hebrew Tongue; and *Sonne*, beſide other notions, to be often the circumloquution of our *vox concreta*, as *Filius percuſſionis*, is he that is ſtrucken; *Filius fœderis*, he that is *fœderatus*; *Filius mortis*, he that is condemned to die, or worthy of death; and the like. And why may not then חתן דמים, *Gener ſanguinum*, that is, as the Holy Ghoſt expounds it, *circumciſionis*, be as much as *circumciſus*, and *Gener ſanguinum tu mihi es* (for ſo I told you חתן ſignifies) be as much, as *I pronounce thee circumciſed*? As if the circumciſed perſon, by being married to circumciſion, were made the circumciſers ſon in Law, and circumciſions Bridegroom; as *es*, or *ſis*, *mihi in generum deſponſatus circumciſioni*. Or if blood, or circumciſion, note the Inſtrument, the *Formula* may be thus explicated, that the perſon circumciſed becomes Gods ſon in Law, as being wedded and joyned to his Church, by the blood of circumciſion, as with a ring; and then the

pronoun *mihi*, muſt not be taken relatively to *Zipporah*, as before, but *efficienter* only in this ſenſe, *Per me factus es gener Deo, per ſanguinem circumciſionis*, or *Feci te generum Deo*: or (if you like better the notion of *ſponſus*) I have eſpouſed thee to the Church of God, by this rite of circumciſion, or thou art, or be thou eſpouſed, &c. Thus, as you ſee, may the *Formula* be either way explicated, to one and the ſame ſenſe. But the firſt I like the beſt, becauſe of *mihi* the relative to *Zipporah*, *Tu mihi in generum es deſponſatus circumciſioni.*

Now laſtly, to free my interpretation from novelty, the ſenſe I have given of theſe words, is that, which both the Septuagint, and the Chaldee Paraphraſt directly aime at; the Paraphraſt expounding it thus; *In ſanguine circumciſionis iſtius, datus eſt ſponſus*, or *gener mihi*; The Septuagint, as we read, thus, ἔστη τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τοῦ παιδίου μου, *Stetit ſanguis circumciſionis filii mei*: where the Text is corrupted, and I beleeve the Septuagint tranſlated not ἔστη, but ἔστω· ——*ſit hic ſanguis circumciſionis Filii mei*; a Periphraſticall, but evident ſenſe, with the change of one letter onely. From the ſenſe of this

this place thus proved, I will point out two obſervations, and ſo conclude.

The firſt is, that it is lawfull to uſe ſome fitting form of words in the exhibition of a Sacrament, though not expreſly ordained by God at the inſtitution thereof; as appears by this form, that *Zipporah* uſed, no doubt *ex more* then, whatſoever the forme were after that time.

The ſecond is, that the neglect of the circumciſion of a child then, and ſo conſequently of baptizing it now, makes not ſo much the child, as the Parents liable to the wrath of God; as here the Angel ſought not to kill the child, who was uncircumciſed; but *Moſes* the Father, who ſhould have circumciſed it. Both which obſervations I mean to amplifie no farther, but to leave to your exacter meditations; and ſo I conclude.

EZEKIEL 20. 22.

Hallow my Sabbaths, and they ſhall be a ſigne between me and you, to acknowledge that I Iehovah am your God.

THis Commandement, with the end thereof, the Lord bids *Ezekiel* tell the Elders of Iſrael, that he gave to their Fathers in the Wilderneſſe. And it is recorded in the Law; ſo that I might have taken it thence: but I rather choſe to make theſe words in *Ezekiel* my Text, as expreſſed more plainly, and ſo a Comment to thoſe in the Law: the place is *Exod.* 31. where this, which my Text containeth, is expreſſed thus, *Verely my Sabbaths ye ſhall keep, for it is a ſigne between me and you throughout your generations, to acknowledge that I Iehovah am your ſanctifier*, that is, *your God*; as the expreſ-

expreſsion in *Ezekiel* tels us. For to be the Sanctifier of a People, and to be their God is all one, whence alſo the Lord is ſo often called in Scripture, the *Holy One* of Iſrael; that is, their Sanctifier, and their God.

That which I intend at this time to obſerve from theſe words, is the end, why God commanded this obſervation of the Sabbath to the Iſraelites; to wit, that thereby, as by a *Symbolum*, they might teſtifie and profeſſe what God they worſhipped: Secondly, out of this ground, to ſhew how farre, and in what manner the like obſervation binds us Chriſtians, who are worſhippers of the ſame God, whom the Jews worſhipped, though not under the ſame relation altogether, wherein they worſhipped him.

All Nations had ſomething in their ceremonies, whereby they ſignified the God they worſhipped, ſo in thoſe of the celeſtiall Gods, (as they termed them) and thoſe which were Deified ſouls of men, were differing rites, whereby the one was known from the other. Thoſe gods which were made of men, having funerall rites in their ſervices, (as cogniſances

ſances that they were ſouls deceaſed) and each of them ſome imitation of ſome remarkable paſſage of the Legend of their lives, either of ſome action done by them, or ſome accident which befell them; as in the ceremonies of *Oſyris*, and *Bacchus* is obvious to any that reads them: And indeed it is a naturall *Decoration* for ſervants and vaſſals, by ſome mark or cogniſance to teſtifie who is their Lord and Maſter: In the *Revelation*, the worſhippers of the Beaſt receive his mark, and the worſhippers of the Lamb carry his mark, and his Fathers in their Fore-heads. Hence came the firſt uſe of the *croſſe in Baptiſme*, as the mark of Chriſt, the Deity to whom we are initiated; and the ſame afterwards uſed in all Benedictions, Prayers, and Thankſgivings, in token they were done in the name, and merits of Chriſt crucified: ſo that in the Primitive Church this rite was no more, but that wherewith we conclude all our Prayers, and Thankſgivings, when we ſay, *Through Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour*; though afterward it came to be abuſed, as almoſt all other rites of Chriſtianity, to abominable ſuperſtition.

To

To return therefore unto my Text: Agreeably to this principle, and this cuſtome of all Religions, of all Nations, of all vaſſals, the Lord *Iehovah*, Creator of heaven and earth, ordained to his people this obſervation of the *Sabbath day*, for a ſigne, and cogniſance, that he ſhould be their God, and no other. *It is for a ſigne*, ſaith he, *between me and you, that I Iehovah am your God.* In the place I quoted before, in the 31. of *Exod.* are theſe words; *The Children of Iſrael ſhall keep the Sabbath, to obſerve the Sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetuall Covenant; it is a ſigne between me and the children of Iſrael for ever, for in ſixe dayes the Lord made heaven and earth, and on the ſeventh day he reſted*: As if he had ſaid, it is a ſigne that the Creatour of heaven and earth is your God.

But for the diſtinct underſtanding of this ſignification, we muſt know that the *Sabbath* includes two reſpects of time: Firſt, the *quotum*, one day of ſeven, or the ſeventh day after ſixe dayes labour: Secondly, the *deſignation*, or pitching that ſeventh day, upon the day we call *Saturday*. In both, the Sabbaticall obſervation was a *ſigne*, and profeſsion that *Iehovah* and

and no other was the God of Iſrael: the firſt, according to his attribute of *Creator*, the ſecond of *Deliverer of Iſrael* out of Egypt. For by ſanctifying the ſeventh day, after they had laboured ſixe, they profeſſed themſelves vaſſals and worſhippers of that onely God, who created the heaven and the earth, and having ſpent ſix dayes in that great work, reſted the ſeventh day; and therefore commanded them to obſerve this ſutable diſtribution of their time, as a badge and livery that their religious ſervice was appropriate to him alone. And this is that which the fourth Commandement in the reaſon given from the Creation intendeth, and no more but this.

But ſeeing they might profeſſe this acknowledgement, as well by any other ſixe dayes working, and a ſevenths reſting, as by thoſe they pitched upon; there being ſtill (what ſixe dayes ſoever they had laboured, and what ſeventh ſoever they had reſted) the ſame conformity with their Creator; let us ſee the reaſon why they pitched upon thoſe ſix dayes wherein they laboured for labouring dayes, rather then any other ſix; and why they

they choſe that ſeventh day, namely *Saturday*, to hallow and reſt in, rather then any other.

And this was, that they might profeſſe themſelves ſervants of *Iehovah* their God, in a relation and reſpect peculiar and proper to themſelves; to wit, that they were the ſervants of that God, which redeemed Iſrael out of the Land of Egypt, and out of the houſe of bondage; and upon the morning watch of *that very day* which they kept for their Sabbath, he overwhelmed *Pharaoh*, and all his Hoſt in the Red Sea, and ſaved Iſrael that day out of the hand of the Egyptians. This I gather from the repetition of the Decalogue, *Deut.*5. where that reaſon from the worlds Creation (in the Decalogue given at Horeb) being left out, *Moſes* inſerts this other of the Redemption of Iſrael out of Egypt in ſtead thereof; namely, as the reaſon, why thoſe ſix dayes rather then any other ſix for work, and that ſeventh day rather then any other ſeventh for reſt, were pitched upon, as Iſrael obſerved them. *Remember*, ſaith he, *thou wert a ſervant in the Land of Egypt, and that the Lord thy*

thy God, brought thee out thence through a mighty hand, and a ſtretched out arme: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath Day: Not for the *quotum* of one day of ſeven, (for of that another reaſon was given, the example of God in the Creation) but for the *deſignation* of the day.

But whether this day were in order the ſeventh from the Creation or not, the Scripture is ſilent; for where it is called in the Commandement the *ſeventh* day, that is in reſpect of the ſixe dayes of labour, and not otherwiſe: and therefore, whenſoever it is ſo called, thoſe ſix dayes of labour are mentioned with it. The ſeventh day therefore is the ſeventh after the ſix dayes of labour, nor can any more be inferred from it: The example of the Creation is brought for the *quotum*, one day of ſeven, as I have ſhewed, and not for the *deſignation* of any certain day for that ſeventh. Nevertheleſſe, it might fall out ſo, by diſpoſition of Divine Providence, that the Jews deſigned ſeventh day was, both the ſeventh in order from the Creation, and alſo the day of their deliverance out of Egypt.

Egypt. But the Scripture no where tels us it was ſo, (howſoever moſt men take it for granted) and therefore it may as well be not ſo: Certain I am, the Jews kept not that day for a Sabbath till the raining of Manna: For that which ſhould have been their *Sabbath* the week before, had they then kept the day, which afterward they kept, was the fifteenth day of the ſecond month; on which day we reade in the 16. of *Exodus*, that they marched a weariſome march, and came at night into the wilderneſſe of Sin; where they murmured for their poore entertainment, and wiſhed they had died in Egypt; that night the Lord ſent them Quailes, the next morning it rained Manna, which was the ſixteenth day, and ſo ſixe dayes together; the ſeventh, which was the twenty ſecond, it rained none, and that day they were commanded to keep for their *Sabbath*; now if the twenty ſecond day of the month were the Sabbath, the fifteenth ſhould have been, if that day had been kept before; but the Text tels us expreſly, they marcht that day; and,

which is ſtrange, the day of the month is never named, unleſſe it be once, for any ſtation but this, where the Sabbath was ordained, otherwiſe it could not have been known, that that day was ordained for a day of reſt, which before was none. And why might not their day of holy reſt be altered, as well as the beginning of the yeare was, for a memoriall of their comming out of Egypt? I can ſee no reaſon why it might not, nor finde any teſtimony to aſſure me it was not.

And thus much of the Jews Sabbath, how and wherein it was a ſigne, whereby they profeſſed themſelves the ſervants of *Iehovah*, and no other God.

Now I come to the ſecond thing I propounded, to ſhew how farre, and in what manner the like obſervation binds us Chriſtians.

I ſay therefore, that the *Chriſtian*, as well as the *Iew*, after ſixe dayes ſpent in his owne works, is to ſanctifie the *ſeventh*, that hee may profeſſe himſelfe thereby a ſervant of God, the Creatour of Heaven and

and Earth, as well as the Jew. For the *quotum* therefore, the Jew and Chriſtian agree; but in *deſignation* of the day they differ. For the Chriſtian chooſeth for his Holy day, that which with the Jews was the firſt day of the week, and calls it *Dominicum*, that hee might thereby profeſſe himſelfe a ſervant of that God, who on the morning of that day, vanquiſhed *Satan*, the *Spirituall Pharaoh*, and redeemed us from our Spirituall thraldome, by raiſing *Ieſus Chriſt* our Lord from the dead, begetting us in ſtead of an earthly *Canaan*, to an inheritance incorruptible in the Heavens: In a word, the Chriſtian, by the day he hallows, profeſſes himſelfe a Chriſtian; that is, as S. *Paul* ſpeaks, *To beleeve on him that raiſed up Ieſus from the dead*; ſo that the Jew and Chriſtian both, though they fall not upon the ſame day, yet make their *deſignation* of their day upon the like ground; the Jews the memoriall day of their deliverance from the *temporall Egypt*, and *temporall Pharaoh*: the Chriſtians, the memoriall of their Deliverance from the

ſpirituall Egypt, and ſpirituall Pharaoh. But might not (will you ſay) the Chriſtian, as well have obſerved the Jewiſh for his ſeventh day, as the day he doth? I anſwer, No; he might not: For, in ſo doing, hee ſhould ſeeme not to acknowledge his Redemption to be already performed; but ſtill expected. For the deliverance of Iſrael out of Egypt by the Miniſtery of *Moſes*, was intended for a type and pledge of the ſpirituall deliverance, which was to come by *Chriſt*: their *Canaan* alſo to which they marched, being a type of that heavenly inheritance, which the redeemed by *Chriſt* doe looke for: Since therefore the ſhadow is now made void by the comming of the ſubſtance, the relation is changed, and God is no longer to bee worſhipped, and beleeved in, as a God fore-ſhewing and aſſuring by types, but as a God who hath performed the ſubſtance of what he promiſed. And this is that which Saint *Paul* meanes, *Coloſsians* 11. 16, 17. where hee ſaith, *Let no man judge you henceforth in reſpect of a Feaſt day,*

day, New Moone, or Sabbath dayes, which were a ſhaddow of things to come, but the body is of Chriſt.

1 Cor. 11. 5.

Every woman praying or prophecying with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head.

I Have choſen this of the *woman*, rather then that of the *man* going before it, for the Theme of my Diſcourſe; Firſt, becauſe I conceive the fault, at the reformation whereof the Apoſtle here aimeth, in the Church of Corinth, was the *womens* only, not the *mens*. That which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of a *man praying* or *prophecying*, being by way of ſuppoſition, and for illuſtration of the unſeemlineſſe of that guiſe which the *women* uſed: Secondly, becauſe the condition of the ſex in the words read, makes ſomething for the better underſtanding of that which is ſpoken of both; as we ſhall ſee preſently.

What

What I intend to ſpeak upon this Text, ſhall conſiſt of theſe two parts; Firſt, of an enquiry, what is here meant by *prophecying*, a thing attributed to *women*, and therefore undoubtedly ſome ſuch thing as they were capable of. Secondly, what was this fault for matter and manner of the *women of the Church of Corinth*, which the Apoſtle here reproveth.

To begin with the firſt; and which I am like to dwell longeſt upon; Some take *prophecying* here, in the ſtricter ſenſe, to be foretelling of things to come; as that, which in thoſe Primitive times, both *men* and *women* did, by the pouring out of the Holy Ghoſt upon them; according to that of the Prophet *Ioel*, applied by S. *Peter* to the ſending of the Holy Ghoſt at the firſt promulgation of the Goſpel: *I will poure out my Spirit upon all fleſh, and your ſons and daughters ſhall prophecy, and your young men ſhall ſee viſions*; And that ſuch *Propheteſſes* as theſe, were thoſe four Daughters of *Philip* the Euangeliſt, whereof we read *Acts* 21.9.

Others take *prophecying* here in a more large notion, for the gift of interpreting and ope-

ning Divine myſteries contained in holy Scripture, for the inſtruction and edification of the hearers; eſpecially, as it was then inſpired and ſuggeſted in extraordinary manner by the Holy Spirit, as *Prophecy* was given of old; according to that of S. Peter, *Prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.* So becauſe many, in the beginning of the Goſpell, were guided by a like inſtinct in the interpretation and application of Scripture, they were ſaid to *Prophecy*. Thus the Apoſtle uſeth it in the fourteenth Chapter of this Epiſtle, where he diſcourſes of ſpirituall Gifts, and before all preferres this of Prophecy; becauſe *he that prophecieth* (ſaith he) *ſpeaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.*

But neither of theſe kinds of *Prophecy* ſute with the perſon in my Text, which is a *woman*. For it is certain the Apoſtle ſpeaks here of *prophecying* in the *Church*, or Congregation; but in the Church a woman might not ſpeak, no not ſo much as ask a queſtion for her better inſtruction, much leſſe teach and inſtruct others: This the Apoſtle teacheth us in this very

very Epiſtle, Chapter the fourteenth; even there where he diſcourſeth ſo largely of thoſe kinds of *Prophecy*. *Let your women* (ſaith he) *keep ſilence in the Churches: For it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak,* ἀλλὰ ὑποτάσσεσθαι, *but to be ſubject: And if they will learn, let them ask their husbands at home.* Again in the firſt of *Timothy*, the ſecond and the eleventh, *Let the women learn in ſilence with all ſubjection.*

But I ſuffer not a woman to teach, nor to uſurp authority over the man, but to be in ſilence.

Note here, that to ſpeak in a Church Aſſembly, by way of teaching or inſtructing others, is an act of *ſuperiority*, which therefore a woman might not doe; becauſe her ſexe was to be in *ſubjection*, and ſo to appear before God in Garb and Poſture, which conſiſted therewith; that is, they might not ſpeak to inſtruct men in the Church, but to God ſhe might.

To avoid this difficulty, ſome would have the word προφητεύουσα, in my Text, to be taken *paſſively*, namely, to heare, or be preſent at *Prophecy*, which is an acception without example, either in Scripture, or any where elſe.

elſe. It is true, the Congregation is ſaid to *pray* when the Prieſt onely ſpeaks; but that they ſhould be ſaid to *preach*, who are preſent only at the hearing of a Sermon, is a Trope without example. For the reaſon is not alike: In *prayer* the Prieſt is the mouth of the Congregation, and does what he does in their names, and they aſſent to it by ſaying, Amen. But he that *preaches* or *prophecies* is not the mouth of the Church to ſpeak ought in their names, that ſo they might be ſaid to ſpeak too; but he is the mouth of God ſpeaking to them. It is not likely therefore, that thoſe who onely heare another ſpeaking or *prophecying* to them, ſhould be ſaid προφητεύειν, no more, as I ſaid, then that all they ſhould be ſaid to preach, who were at the hearing of a Sermon.

What ſhall we doe then? Is there any other acception of the word *prophecying* left us, which may fit our turn? Yes, there is a fourth acception, which if it can be made good, will ſute our Text better (I think) then any of the former; to wit, that *prophecying* here ſhould be taken for *praiſing God in Hymnes and Pſalmes*. For ſo it is fitly coupled with *praying*: *Praying* and

and *praiſing*, being the parts of the Chriſtian Liturgie. Beſides, our Apoſtle alſo in the fourteenth Chapter of this Epiſtle, joyns them both together; *I will pray*, ſaith he, *with the ſpirit, and will pray with underſtanding alſo: I will ſing with the ſpirit, and I will ſing*, that is, prophecy, *with underſtanding alſo.* For, becauſe *Prophets* of old did three things: Firſt, foretell things to come: Secondly, notifie the will of God unto the people: And thirdly, uttered themſelves in muſicall wiſe, and, as I may ſo ſpeak, in a poeticall ſtrain and compoſure; Hence it comes to paſſe, that to *prophecy* in Scripture ſignifies the doing of any of theſe three things, and amongſt the reſt, to *praiſe* God in verſe or muſicall compoſure.

This to be ſo, as I ſay, I ſhall prove unto you out of two places of Scripture; and firſt out of the firſt of *Chronicles*, 25. 1. where the word *Prophecy* is three ſeverall times thus uſed: I will alledge the words of the Text at large, becauſe I cannot well abbreviate them; Theſe they are; *Moreover David and the Captains of the Hoſt, ſeparated to the ſervice of the ſonnes of*

of Aſaph, and of Heman, and of Ieduthun, who ſhould prophecy with Harps, with Pſalteries, and with Cymbals: and the number of the men of Office according to their ſervice was, 2. Of the ſonnes of Aſaph, Zaccur, and Ioſeph, and Nathaniah, and Aſarelah, the ſonnes of Aſaph under the hands of Aſaph, which prophecied according to the order of the King. 3. Of Ieduthun, the ſonnes of Iduthun, Gedaliah, and Zeri, and Ieſhaiah, Haſhabiah, and Mattithia (and Schimei) ſix under the hands of their Father Ieduthun, who prophecied with a Harp to give thanks, and to praiſe the Lord. Lo here, *to prophecy and to give thanks* (or confeſſe) and *to praiſe the Lord* with ſpirituall ſongs made all one. Nor needs ſuch a notion ſeeme ſtrange, when as even among the Latins, the word *vates* ſignifieth both him that foretels things to come, and a *Poet*: And the Gentiles Oracles were given likewiſe in verſe: And S. *Paul* to *Titus*, cals the Cretian Poet, *Epimenides*, a *Prophet*; *as one*, ſaith he, *of their own Prophets ſaid*, κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί· And the Arabians (whoſe language comes the neareſt both in words, and notions to the Hebrew) call a chiefe Poet of theirs (*Princeps omnium Poeta-*

Poetarum (ſaith *Erpenius*) *quos unquam vidit mundus*) *Muttenabbi*, that is, *Prophetizans*, or *Prophetа κατ' ἐξοχὴν*. Now then if *Aſaph*, *Ieduthun*, and *Heman prophecied* when they praiſed God in ſuch Pſalms, as are entituled unto their ſeveral Quires; as we find them in the Pſalm-Book, (for know that all the Pſalmes entituled *to the ſonnes of Korah*, belonged to the Quire of *Heman*, who deſcended from *Korah*) why may not we, when we ſing the ſame Pſalmes be ſaid to *prophecy* likewiſe? namely, as he that uſeth a prayer compoſed by another, prayeth; and that according to the ſpirit of him that compoſed it; So he that praiſeth God with theſe ſpirituall and propheticall compoſures, may be ſaid to *prophecy* according to that ſpirit, which ſpeaketh in them.

And that Almighty God is well pleaſed with ſuch ſervice as this, may appeare by that one ſtory of King *Iehoſhaphat*, in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, who when he marched forth againſt that great confederate Army of the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, the Text tels us, that having conſulted with his people, *He appointed ſingers unto the Lord, that ſhould praiſe* 2 Chron. 20. 21.

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the Beauty of holineſſe, as they went out before the Army, and to ſay, Praiſe the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever, (that is, they ſhould ſing the one hundred and ſixt Pſalm, or one hundred thirty ſixt Pſalme, which begins in this manner, and were both of them not unfit for ſuch an occaſion) Verſe 21. *And when they began to ſing and praiſe, the Lord ſet ambuſhments againſt the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, which were come againſt Iudah, and they were ſmitten.*

A ſecond place where ſuch kinde of *Prophets*, and *prophecying*, as we ſpeak of, is mentioned, is that in the firſt of *Samuel*, in the ſtory of *Sauls* election, where we reade, That 1 Sam. 10 5 *when he came to a certain place, called the Hill of God, hee met a company of Prophets comming down from the high place,* (or Oratory there) *with a Pſaltery, a Tabret, and a Pipe, and a Harp before them, and they* prophecied, *and he with them.*

Their inſtruments argue what kinde of *Prophecy* this was; namely, praiſing God with ſpirituall ſongs and melody. In what manner, is not ſo eaſie to define or ſpecifie: But if we may conjecture by other examples, one of them ſhould ſeeme to have beene

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the *Præcentor*, and to utter the verſe, or ditty; the reſt to have anſwered τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια, the extreams, or laſt words of the verſe; For after this manner we are told by *Philo Iudæus*, that the *Eſſens* (who were of the *Iewiſh* Nation) were wont to ſing their Hymnes in their Σεμνεῖα, or worſhipping places. And after the ſelf-ſame manner, *Euſebius* tels us, did the *Primitive Chriſtians*, having in all likelihood learnt it from the Jews, whoſe manner it was; the ſame is witneſſed by the Author *Conſtitutionum Apoſtolicarum* in his ſecond Book, and fifty ſeventh Chapter, where deſcribing the manner of the *Chriſtian* ſervice; after the reading of the Leſſons of the Old Teſtament, (ſaith he) ἑτερός τις τοὺς ἓ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, ὁ δὲ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω· *Let another ſing the Pſalmes of David, and the people*, ſuccinere, *or anſwer*, τὰ ἀκροστίχια, (i.) ἄκρα τῶν στίχων, *the extreams of the verſes*; ſome footſteps of which cuſtome remain ſtill with us (though perhaps in ſomewhat a different way) when in thoſe ſhort verſicles of Liturgie being ſentences taken out of the *Pſalmes*, the Prieſt ſayes or ſings the firſt halfe, and the People anſwer the

the latter; *quaſi* τὰ ἀκροτελεύτια. As for example, in that taken out of the fifty firſt Pſalme, the Prieſt ſayes, *O Lord open thou our lips*; The People, or *Chorus* anſwer, *And our mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy praiſe.* But whatſoever the ancient manner of anſwering was, thus much we are ſure of, that the *Iews* in their Divine Lauds were wont to praiſe God after this manner, in *Antiphones*, or Reſponſories; as (to let paſſe other teſtimonies, and the uſe of their Synagogues to this day derived from their Auncеſtors) we may learn by two ſpeciall Arguments; one from the *Seraphims* ſinging, *Eſay* the ſixt, where it is ſaid that the *Seraphims cried one unto another, ſaying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the whole earth is full of his Glory.* They cried one unto another: Secondly, from the uſe of the Hebrew verb ענה, which in the proper and native ſignification thereof being to *anſwer*, is alſo uſed for to ſing: as in the Pſalme, where we tranſlate, *Sing unto the Lord with thankſgiving, ſing praiſe upon the Harp unto our God*; in the Hebrew it is ענו, *Anſwer unto the Lord in thankſgiving, ſing praiſe upon the Harp unto our God.* And *Iſay* 27. 2. *In*

Pſa. 147. 7.

that

that day ſing ye unto her, a vineyard of red wine. In *the* Hebrew, *Anſwer ye unto her.* And *Numbers* 21. in Iſraels ſong of the Well; *Spring up, O Well, ſing unto it.* In the Hebrew it is, *Anſwer unto it.* And *Moſes* ſpeaking of thoſe that were worſhipping the golden Calfe, *Exodus* 32.18. *It is not the voyce of them that ſhout for maſtery, nor the voyce of them that cry for being overcome, but the noiſe of them that ſing doe I heare*; in the Hebrew, *the voyce of them that anſwer one another.* And ſo in other places. But to put all out of doubt, look *Ezra* 3. 2. where it is expreſly ſaid, *The Levites, the ſons of Aſaph, ſung together by courſe, in praiſing and giving thanks unto the Lord, becauſe he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* Hence was derived the manner of *praying* and *praiſing* God in the *Chriſtian* ſervice, *alternis vicibus*, in a muſicall way, and, as it were, by way of *prophecying* and verſifying; even though we do but ſpeak it onely; as you know the Poet ſayes, *Amant alterna Camænæ.* Thus I have taken occaſion ſomewhat to enlarge this particular; That we our ſelves might the better underſtand the reaſon of what we do, & what precedents, & whoſe example we follow therein; and thus much of *prophecying.*

I come now to the ſecond thing, I propounded, to ſpeak of; namely, what was that fault among the *Corinthians*, which the Apoſtle here taxeth: For the right underſtanding whereof, I ſay two things; Firſt, for the offenders, that they were the *women*, and not the *men*. That which the Apoſtle ſpeaketh concerning *men*, being by way of ſuppoſition only, and to illuſtrate his Argument againſt the uncomly guiſe of the *women*, *à pari*. This appears, becauſe his concluſion ſpeaks of *women* only, and nothing at all of *men*. Secondly, for the quality of the fault, it was this; that the *women* at the time of *praying* and *prophecying* were unveiled in the Church; notwithſtanding it was then accounted an unſeemly and immodeſt guiſe, for *women* to appear open and bare-faced in publique. How then, will you ſay, ſhould it come to paſſe, that Chriſtian women ſhould ſo much forget themſelves, as to tranſgreſſe this *decorum* in Gods Houſe, and ſervice which they obſerved other where? I anſwer, from a phantaſticall imitation of the manner of the *ſhee Prieſts and Prophetеſſes* of the Gentiles, when they ſerved their Idols, as their *Pythiæ*, *Bacchæ*,

Bacchæ, or *Mænades*, and the like; who uſed, when they uttered their Oracles, or celebrated rites and ſacrifices to their Gods, to put themſelvs into a wild &extatical guiſe, having their faces diſcovered, their hair diſ-ſhevelled, and hanging about their ears: This theſe *Corinthian women* (conceiting themſelves when they *praied* or *prophecied*, in the Church, to be acting the parts of *ſhe-Prieſts*, uttering Oracles like the *Pythiæ*, or *Sibyllæ*, or celebrating ſacrifice, as the *Mænades*, or *Bacchæ*) were ſo fond, as to imitate (as that ſex is prone to follow the faſhion) and accordingly caſt off their veils, and diſcovered their faces immodeſtly in the Congregation, and thereby (as the Apoſtle ſpeaks) diſhonoured their heads; (to wit) were unſeemly accoutred, and dreſſed on their heads; which he proveth by three Arguments; partly from Nature, which having given *women* their hair for a covering, taught them to be covered, as a ſign of ſubjection; the manner of this covering being to be meaſured by the cuſtome of the Nation: Secondly, by an Argument *à pari*, from *men*, for whom even themſelves being Judges, it would be an uncomly

thing to wear a vail, that is a *womans* habit; ſo by the like reaſon, was it as uncomly for a *woman* to be without a vaile, that is, in the guiſe and dreſſe of a *man*. And howſoever the Devils of the Gentiles, ſometimes took pleaſure in uncomlineſſe, and abſurd garbs and geſtures; yet the God whom they worſhipped with his holy Angels, who were preſent at their devotions, loved a comly accommodation, agreeable to Nature & Cuſtome, in ſuch as worſhipped him. *For this cauſe therefore* (ſaith he) *ought a woman to have a covering on her head, becauſe of the Angels.* Laſtly, he concludes it, from the example & cuſtome both of the *Iewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Churches, neither of which had any ſuch uſe, for their *women* to be unvailed in their ſacred aſſemblies: *If any man* (ſaith he) *be contentious*, (that is, will not be ſatisfied with theſe reaſons) *let him know, that we*, (that is, we of the Circumciſion) *have no ſuch cuſtome, nor the Church of God.* For ſo, with S. *Ambroſe*, *Anſelme*, and ſome of the ancients, I take the meaning of the Apoſtle to be in thoſe words.

Thus you have heard briefly, what was the fault of theſe *Corinthian Dames*, which the Apoſtle

ſtle here taxeth. From which we our ſelves may learn thus much; That God requires a decent and comely accommodation in his Houſe, in the act of his worſhip, and ſervice; For if in their habit and dreſſe, ſurely much more in their geſtures, and deportment, he loves nothing that is unſeemly in the one, or in the other.

TITUS 3. 5.

By the waſhing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghoſt.

THe words, as it is eaſie to conceive, upon the firſt hearing, are ſpoken of *Baptiſme*; of which I intend not by this choyce, to make any full, or accurate tractation, but onely to acquaint you (as I am wont) with my thoughts concerning two particulars therein: One, from what propriety, analogy, or uſe of water, the waſhing therewith was inſtituted for a ſigne of new birth, according as it is here called λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, *the waſhing of regeneration.* The other, what is the counter-type, or thing which the water figureth in this Sacrament.

I will begin with the laſt firſt, becauſe the know-

knowledge thereof muſt be ſuppoſed, for the explication, and more diſtinct underſtanding of the other. In every Sacrament, as ye well know, there is the outward Symbole, or ſign, *res terrena*, and the *ſignatum* figured and repreſented thereby, *res cœleſtis*. In this of *Baptiſme*, the ſigne, or *res terrena*, is waſhing with water: The queſtion is, what is the *Signatum*, the inviſible and celeſtiall thing, which anſwers thereunto. In our Catecheticall explications of this myſtery, it is wont to be affirmed to be the *Bloud of Chriſt*; That as *water* waſheth away the filth of the body, ſo the *Bloud of Chriſt* cleanſeth us from the guilt and pollution of ſin. And there is no queſtion but the *Bloud of Chriſt* is the fountain of all the grace and good communicated unto us, either in this, or any other Sacrament, or myſtery of the Goſpel. But that this ſhould be the ἀντίτυπον, the counterpart, or thing figured by the *water* in *Baptiſme* I beleeve not, becauſe the Scripture, which muſt be our guide, and direction in this caſe, makes it another thing; to wit, the *Spirit* or *Holy Ghoſt*; this to be that, whereby the ſoule is cleanſed and renewed within, as the

body with water is without; ſo ſaith our Saviour to *Nicodemus*, in *Iohn* 3. *Except a man be born of water, and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of God.* And the Apoſtle in the words I have read, parallels *the waſhing of regeneration,* & *the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt,* as type and countertype. *God* (ſaith he) *hath ſaved us* (that is, brought us into the ſtate of ſalvation) *by the waſhing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghoſt:* where none, I trow, will deny that he ſpeaks of *Baptiſme.* The ſame was repreſented by that viſion at our Saviours Baptiſme, of the holy Ghoſts deſcending upon him, as he came out of the water, in the ſimilitude of a Dove: For I ſuppoſe, that in that Baptiſme of his, the myſtery of all our Baptiſms was viſibly acted; and that God ſayes to every one, truly baptized, as he ſaid to him, (in a proportionable ſenſe) *Thou art my Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.*

And how pliable the analogy of water is to typifie the *Spirit*, well appears by the figuring of the Spirit therby in other places of Scripture; As in that of *Iſay*, *I will poure water upon him that is thirſty, and flouds upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy ſeed, and my bleſsing upon thine off-*

Iſay 43. 3

ſpring,

ſpring, where the latter expounds the former: Alſo by the diſcourſe of our Saviour with the Samaritan woman, *Iohn* 4.14. *Whoſoever* (ſaith he) *drinketh of the water that I ſhall give him, ſhall never thirſt; but the water that I ſhal give him, ſhall be in him a well of water ſpringing up to everlaſting life*: By that alſo, *Iohn* 7.37. where on the laſt day of the great feaſt, *Ieſus ſtood and ſaid, If any man thirſt let him come unto me and drink. He that beleeveth on me, as the Scripture ſaith* (that is, as the Scripture is wont to expreſſe it, for otherwiſe there is no ſuch place of Scripture to be found in all the Bible) *out of his belly ſhal flow rivers of living water. But this* (ſaith the Euangeliſt) *he ſpake of the Spirit, which they that beleeve on him ſhould receive.* Nor did the Fathers or anciẽt Church, as far as I can find ſuppoſe any other correlative to the element in Baptiſme, but this; of this they ſpeak often, of the *bloud of Chriſt* they are altogether ſilent in their explications of this myſtery: many are the alluſiõs, they ſeek out for the illuſtration ther-of, & ſome perhaps forced, but this of the *water*, ſignifying, or having any relatiõ to the *bloud of Chriſt*, never comes amongſt thẽ; which were impoſsible, if they had not ſuppoſed ſom other thing

thing figured by the water, then it; which barred them from falling on that conceit.

The like ſilence is to be obſerved in our Liturgy, where the *Holy Ghoſt* is more then once paralleld with the *water* in *Baptiſm*, waſhing and regeneration attributed thereunto; but no ſuch notion of the *Bloud of Chriſt*; and that the opinion thereof is novell, may be gathered, becauſe ſome *Lutheran Divines* make it peculiar and proper to the followers of *Calvin.*

Whatſoever it be, it hath no foundation in Scripture, and we muſt not of our own heads aſsign ſignifications to Sacramentall types without ſome warrant thence. For whereas ſome conceive thoſe two expreſsions of ῥαντισμὸς, or *ſprinkling of the bloud of Chriſt*, & of our being *waſhed from our ſins in* (or by) *his bloud*, do intimate ſome ſuch matter, they are ſurely miſtaken; for thoſe expreſsions have reference not to the water of *Baptiſme* in the New Teſtament, but to the rite and manner of ſacrificing in the Old; where the Altar was wont to be *ſprinkled* with the blood of the Sacrifices, which were offered, and that which was

1 Pet. 1. 2.
Apoc. 1. 5.

was unclean purified with the ſame bloud: whence is that elegant diſcourſe of S. *Paul*, (*Hebrews* the ninth) comparing the ſacrifice of the Law, with that of Chriſt upon the Croſſe, as much the better. And that whereas in the Law, σχέδον ἐν αἵματι πάντα καθαρίζεται, *Almoſt all things were purified with bloud, ſo much more the bloud of Chriſt, who offered himſelfe without ſpot to God, cleanſeth our conſciences from dead works*: But that this waſhing, that is, cleanſing by the bloud of Chriſt, ſhould have reference to Baptiſme, where is that to be found? I ſuppoſe, they will not alledge the *water* and *bloud* which came out of our Saviours ſide, when they pierced him; for that is taken to ſignifie the two Sacraments ordained by Chriſt, that of *bloud* the Euchariſt, of *water* Baptiſme, and not both to be referred to Baptiſme: I adde, becauſe perhaps ſome mens fancies are corrupted therewith, that there was no ſuch thing as ſprinkling, or ῥαντισμὸς, uſed in Baptiſme in the Apoſtles times, nor many ages after them; and that therefore it is no way probable, that ῥαντισμὸς αἵματος χριστοῦ in S. *Peter* ſhould have any reference to the Laver of Baptiſme.

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Let this then be our conclusion; That the *blood of Christ* concurres in the mystery of Baptisme, by way of efficacy, and merit, but not as the thing there figured; which the Scripture tels us not to be the blood of Christ, but the *Spirit.*

And so I come to my other *Quære*, From what property or use of *water*, the washing therewith is a Sacrament of our new birth; for so it is here called the *washing of regeneration*; and our Saviour sayes to *Nicodemus*, *Except a man be born of water, and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of God.* For in every Sacrament there is some analogy between what is outwardly done, and what is thereby signified: Therefore in this. But what should it be? It is a thing of some moment, and yet in the tractates of this mystery, but little or seldome enquired after; and therefore deserves the more consideration. I answer, this analogy between the *washing* with water, and *regeneration* lies in that custome of washing infants from the pollutions of the womb, when they are first born; for this is the first office done unto them when they come out of the womb,

womb, if they purpoſe to nouriſh and bring them up. As therefore in our naturall birth, the body is waſht with *water* from the pollutions wherewith it comes beſmeared out of the matrix; ſo in our ſecond birth from above, the ſoule is purified by the *Spirit* from the guilt and pollution of ſin, to begin a new life to God-ward.

The analogy you ſee is apt and proper, if that be true of the cuſtome, whereof there is no cauſe to make queſtion; for the uſe at preſent, any man, I think, knows how to inform himſelf. For that of elder times, I can produce two pregnant and notable teſtimonies; one of the Jews and people of God; another of the Gentiles. The firſt you ſhall finde in the ſixteenth Chapter of *Ezekiel*, where God deſcribes the poore and forlorn condition of Jeruſalem, when he firſt took her to himſelfe, under the parable of an expoſed Infant; *As for thy nativity*, ſaith he, *in the day thou waſt born, thy navell was not cut, neither waſt thou waſhed in water, to ſupple thee; thou waſt not ſalted at all, nor ſwadled at all, no eye pitied thee, none to doe any of theſe things unto thee, to have compaſſion* Ezek. 16. 4, 5.

paſsion on thee; but thou waſt caſt out in the open field, to the loathing of thy perſon in the day that thou waſt born. Here you may learn what was wont to be done unto infants at their nativity, by that which was not done to *Iſrael*, till God himſelfe took pity on her, cutting off the navell ſtring, waſhing, ſalting, ſwadling: upon this place S. *Hierome* takes notice (but ſcarce any body elſe, that I can yet finde) that our Savior, where ſpeaking of *Baptiſm* he ſays, *Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of God*; alludes to the cuſtome here mentioned of waſhing Infants at their nativity.

The other teſtimony (& that moſt pertinent to the application we make) I finde in a ſtory related by *Plutarch*, in his *Quæſtiones Romanæ*, not farre from the beginning, in this manner: Among the Greeks, if one that were living were reported to be dead, and funerall obſequies performed for him, if afterward he returned alive, he was of all men abominated, as a prophane and unlucky perſon; no man would come into his company, and (which was the higheſt degree of calamity) they excluded

cluded him from their Temples, and the Sacrifices of their gods: It chanced that one *Ariſtinus* being fallen into the like dyſaſter, and not knowing which way to expiate himſelfe therefrom, ſent to the Oracle at *Delphos*, to *Apollo*, beſeeching him to ſhew him the means whereby he might be freed and diſcharged thereof. *Pythia* gave him this anſwer,

Ὅσσαπερ ἐν λεχέεσι γυνὴ πίκτησα τελεῖ,
Ταῦτα πάλιν τελέσαιτα θύειν μαιμάρεσι θεοῖσι·

What women doe, when one in childbed lies,
That doe again, ſo maiſt thou ſacrifice.

Ariſtinus rightly apprehending what the Oracle meant, offered himſelf to women, as one newly brought forth to be waſhed again with water; from which example it grew a cuſtome among the Greeks, when the like misfortune befell any man, after this manner to expiate them; they called them *Hyſteropotmi*, or *Poſtliminio nati*: How well doth this befit the myſtery of Baptiſme? where thoſe who were dead to God through ſin are like *Hyſteropotmi*, regenerate and born again by *water*, and *the Holy Ghoſt*.

Theſe

Theſe two paſſages diſcover ſufficiently, the analogy of the waſhing with water in Baptiſm, to regeneration or new birth; according as the Text, I have choſen for the ſcope of my diſcourſe, expreſſeth it; namely, that *waſhing with water* is a ſigne of *ſpirituall infancy*; for as much as infants are wont to be waſhed, when they come firſt into the world.

Hence the Jews before *Iohn* the *Baptiſt* came amongſt them, were wont by this rite to initiate ſuch, as they made *Proſelytes*, (to wit) as becomming infants again, and entring into a new life, and being, which before they had not. That, which here I have affirmed, will be yet more evident, if we conſider thoſe other rites anciently added and uſed in the celebration of this myſtery, which had the ſelf-ſame end we ſpeak of; to wit, to ſignifie *ſpirituall Infancy*. I will name them, and ſo conclude; as that of giving the new baptized *milk* and *honey*, *ad infantandum*, as *Tertullian* ſpeaks; *ad infantiæ ſignificationem*, ſo S. *Hierome*; becauſe the like was uſed to infants new born; according to that in the ſeventh of *Iſay*, of *Immanuels* infancy; *A Virgin ſhall conceive and beare a ſon; butter* Iſ. 7. 14, 15

and

and honey ſhall he eat, that he may know to refuſe evill and chuſe good. Secondly, that of *ſalt*, as is implied in that of *Ezekiel, Thou waſt not waſhed with water, nor ſalted with ſalt*: that of putting on the *white garment*, to reſemble *ſwadling*: All theſe were anciently (eſpecially the firſt) uſed in the Sacrament of our *Spirituall birth*, out of reference to that which was done to Infants at their *naturall birth*; Who then can doubt, but the principall rite of *waſhing with water*, the only one ordained by our bleſſed Saviour, was choſen for the ſame reaſon? to be the element of our imitation; and that thoſe who brought in the other, did ſo conceive of this; and from thence derived thoſe imitations.

Josh. 24. 26.

And (Joſhuah) *took a great ſtone, and ſet it up there* (viz. in Sichem) *under the Oak, which was in the Sanctuary of the Lord*: Alii, *by the Sanctuary*. Hebr. במקדש.

THe Story whereupon theſe words depend is this; *Ioſhuah* a little before his death aſſembled all the Tribes of Iſrael at *Shechem*, or *Sichem*; there to make a ſolemne Covenant between them and the Lord, to have him alone for their God, and to ſerve no other Gods beſides him; which they having ſolemnely promiſed to doe, ſaying, *The Lord our God will we ſerve, and his voice will we obey*: *Ioſhuah* for a teſtimony and monument of this their ſtipulation, erects in the place a great *ſtone* or *pillar* under an *Oak*, which

which was *by* (or, as the Hebrew hath it, *in*) *the ſanctuary of the Lord.* Of this *Oak*, or rather collectively, *Quercetum*, or *Oaken-holt* of *Sichem*, is twice mention made elſwhere in Scripture. For this was the place where *Abraham* firſt ſate down, and where the Lord appearing unto him, he erected his firſt Altar in the Land of Canaan, after he came out of Haran thither; as we reade *Gen.*12. 6. in theſe words: *And Abraham paſſed through the Land unto the place of Sichem, unto the Oak*, or Oak-grove *of Moreh*, where *the Lord appeared unto him, ſaying, Vnto thy ſeed will I give this Land; and there he builded an Altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him.* And what place more fit for *Abrahams* poſterity, to renew a Covenant with their God, then that where their God firſt made his Covenant with *Abraham* their Father? Again, it was this place, where in the after-times of the Judges, one hundred and ſeventy years after the death of *Ioſhuah*, the Sichemites made *Abimelech* the baſe ſon of *Ierubaal*, or *Gideon*, King, as we read *Iudg.*9. 6. *That all the men of Sichem gathered together, and all the Houſe of Millo, and went and made Abimelech King, by the Oak of the Pillar which was*

in Sichem: The words are אלון מצב, even the Oak, where *Ioshuah* here in my Text set up this great stone for a witnesse to Israel. For this word אֵלֶּה here, and אֵלוֹן, or אֶלּוֹן, in the other two places, signifie one and the same thing, to wit, either an *Oak*, *Terebinth*, or some other kinde of tree; as the Seventy perpetually render them.

Yea, that of *Iudges* must of necessity so be rendred, by comparing it with this of my Text, to which it hath reference: Nevertheless our last Translation in the first of these places, *Gen.* 12. concerning *Abraham*, chose rather to follow S. *Hierome* (wherefore I know not) who follows not himself, and translates it a *plain*, not an *Oak*, to wit, *the plain of Moreh*, by which Translation, the identity of that place, with the other two, where it is translated *Oak*, is obscured and made the lesse observable. If there be any difference between the words אלון, and אלה, it should rather be this, that אלה should signifie a *tree*, and אלון, a *grove*, *holt*, or *wood* of such trees; as the Seventy in that place of the ninth of *Iudges*, have expresly rendred it, namely, Βαλανώτῃ τῆς στάσεως

ἐν

ἡ Συκίμων, the *Quercetum*, *Oak cops*, or *holt* of *Sichem*. And ſo, I beleeve, it ought to be underſtood in the other places, that is, to be taken collectively; of which we ſhall have more hereafter.

But this is no great matter of difficulty; that which follows is; namely, how this *Oak*, or *Oaken-holt* of *Sichem* is ſaid here in my Text to have been *in* (for the Hebrew is במקדש) or *by the Sanctuary of the Lord*. For how comes the *Sanctuary* of the Lord to be at *Sichem*, when as the *Tabernacle*, & the *Ark of the Teſtimony* were at *Shiloh*, there ſet up by *Ioſhuah* himſelfe, and ſo remained (as the Scripture elſewhere tels us) untill the time of the Captivity of the Land; which without doubt was not till after *Ioſhuah* was dead and buried: and is uſually underſtood of that time when the Ark was taken captive by the Philiſtims; and yet is not onely here a *Sanctuary* mentioned at *Sichem*, but in the beginning of the Chapter, the Elders and Officers of the Tribes are ſaid, upon *Ioſhuahs* ſummons, to have *preſented themſelves there before the Lord*, which ſpeech uſeth to imploy as much.

If we ſay the Ark of God was taken out of its place at *Shiloh*, and brought to *Sichem* by the Levites, upon occaſion of this generall Aſſembly, yet the difficulty will not be removed: For firſt, how could the Ark alone give denomination to the place where it ſtood, to be called the *Sanctuary of the Lord*? Or ſecondly, if the Altar were there with it, how was the Law of God obſerved, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not plant a Grove of any trees*, (or any tree) *near unto the Altar of thy God, which thou ſhalt make thee: neither ſhalt thou ſet up a pillar which the Lord thy God hateth*; when as here are both, an *Oak*, or *Quercetum*, in the Sanctuary of God, and a *Pillar* or *Statue* erected under it?

D:16.21

Thirdly, this *Sanctuary*, whatſoever it was, muſt be ſomething which had a conſtant and fixed ſtation, and was not temporary or mutable; becauſe the *Oak*, under which this pillar was erected by *Ioſhuah*, is here deſigned and appointed out by it, as by a conſtant and ſtanding mark; elſe to what purpoſe had it been to ſign out the *Oak* by it, if it were ſuch as ſhould be here to day and not to morrow? For theſe reaſons it appears that this *Sanctuary* could

could not be the Tabernacle, where the Ark and Altar for Iſrael were, but that it was ſomthing elſe: And what that ſhould be, is to be enquired.

I anſwer, it was a *Proſeucha*, or praying place, which the Iſraelites (at leaſt thoſe of *Ephraim*, in whoſe lot it was) after the Country was ſubdued unto them, had erected in that very place at *Sichem*, where God firſt appeared to *Abram*, and where he built his firſt Altar, after he was come into the Land of Canaan; the place where God ſaid unto him, *Vnto thy ſeed will I give this Land.*

For the underſtanding whereof, you muſt take notice, that the Jews beſides their *Tabernacle*, or *Temple* which was the onely place for ſacrifice, had firſt or laſt two ſorts of *places* for religious duties: The one called *Proſeuchæ*, the other *Synagogues*, the difference between which was this; *Proſeucha* was a plot of ground, encompaſſed with a wall, or ſome other like mound, or encloſure, and open above, much like to our Courts: the uſe properly for *prayer*, as the name *Proſeucha* importeth: A *Synagogue* was *ædificium tectum*,

a covered edifice, as our houſes and Churches are, where the Law and Prophets were read and expounded, and the people inſtructed in divine matters; according to that *Acts* 15.21. *Moſes of old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day.* From whence alſo ye may gather, that *Synagogues* were within the Cities, as *Proſeucha's* were without; which was another difference between them, as you ſhall heare confirmed.

That *Proſeucha's* were ſuch places as I have deſcribed them to be, I prove out of a notable place of *Epiphanius*, a Iew bred and born in Paleſtine; who in his Tract againſt the Maſſalian Heretiques, after he hath told us that the *Maſſaliani* built themſelves certain houſes, or large places, φόρων δίκην, *Fororum inſtar*, which they called *Proſeuchæ*, he goes on thus; *Et habuiſſe quidem Iudæos jam olim, ut & Samaritas, certa quædam ad precandum loca extra urbes, quas Proſeuchas dicerent, ex Apoſtolorum Actibus liquet, ubi purpuræ inſtitutrix Lydia Apoſtolo Paulo occurriſſe dicitur, de quo ita Scriptura notat,* ἐδόκει τόπος προσευχῆς εἶναι, it ſeemed to be a place of

of prayer, (of which I ſhall ſay more anon;) He goes on ſtill, *Eſt & Sicimis*, ſaith he, *quæ hodie Neapolis dicitur, Proſeuchæ locus extra urbem Theatro ſimilis, ſecundo ab urbe lapide ſitus; Quem ita aperto cœlo & area ſubdiali extruxerunt Samaritæ Iudæorum in omnibus imitatores.* Out of theſe words you may collect every part of my deſcription. Firſt, that *Proſeuchæ* were out of the Cities in the fields. Secondly, that they were φόρων δίκην, like the ancients *Forum*, or place of market, and* ἐν ἀέρι καὶ ἀιθρίῳ, under the open aire, and without roofe, ſuch as the Courts of the Temple alſo were, whither the people came to pray; ſo that they were as it were a kind of diſ-joyned, & remoter Courts unto the Temple, whither they turned themſelves when they prayed in them. Thirdly, that they were ordained for places of prayer; All theſe are in this paſſage of *Epiphanius*; and moreover that ſuch a one was in his time remaining at *Sichem*, the place my Text ſpeaks of, there erected by the Samaritans, in that, as in all things elſe, imitators of the Jews; what better teſtimony could be deſired?

* The like he hath a few lines after of the *Satanians*; τὰ ἶπα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἐξαγόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ εὐχεσθαι καὶ ὑμνεῖν.

Theſe

Theſe *Proſeucha's* of the Jews, both name and thing, were not unknown to the Poet *Iuvenal*, when deſcribing in his third Satyr, in what manner proud and inſolent fellows in the City of Rome, uſed in their drunken humours, to abuſe and quarrell with thoſe they met in the ſtreets, in the night time, whō they took to be of mean eſtate and condition, he brings them in ſpeaking thus; *Ede ubi conſiſtas? in quâ te quæro Proſeuchâ?* where dwell you? in what *Proſeucha* ſhould I ſeek or enquire for you? intimating that he was ſome poore fellow, either that dwelt in an houſe that could not keep out wind and weather, but was like a Jews *Proſeucha*, all open above; or he alludes to the baniſhment of the Jews out of Rome, by *Domitian*, in his own time, and then freſh, as who had no where elſe to beſtow themſelves, but in their *Proſeucha's* out of the City, or who uſed to aſſemble in the *Proſeucha's*; according to ſome of theſe ſenſes is *Iuvenall* to be underſtood.

For that the Jews had *Proſeucha's* about the City of Rome, appears by *Philo Iudæus* in his *De legatione ad Caium*; where commending the clemency

clemency and moderation of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, he ſaith, ἠπίσατο καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ἔχοντας, καὶ συνιόντας, εἰς αὐτὰς, καὶ μάλιστα τῇς ἱερᾶις ἑβδόμαις· That he knew the Jews of Rome had their *Proſeucha's*, and that they uſed to aſſemble in them, eſpecially on the Sabbath dayes, and yet never moleſted them, as *Caius* did. The ſame *Philo* mentioneth *Proſeucha's* elſewhere, though it be not to be diſſembled, that he ſeems to comprehend *Synagogues* alſo properly ſo called under that name, as being better known to the Gentiles, who called both by that name. *Ioſephus* in his Life tels us of a *Proſeucha* at Tiberias in Galilee, in theſe words, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντες συνάγονται εἰς τὴν Προσευχὴν· On the the next day, the Sabbath, the whole people were gathered together in the *Proſeucha*, which is (ſaith he) μέγιστον ὄγκημα, a large edifice, fit to receive a large multitude.

Vide de vita Moſis. *Lib* 3.

In the New Teſtament, the name of *Synagogue* is frequent, but that of *Proſeucha* ſeldome; whence may be conjectured that both are comprehended under that name, as in *Philo* both are termed *Proſeuchæ*, yet once or twice,

twice, as learned Interpreters think, we read of *Proſeucha's* in the new Teſtament; as namely *Acts* 21.13. (which *Epiphanius* even now alledged to that purpoſe) where S. *Luke* tels us, that S. *Paul* being come to *Philippi* in Macedonia on the Sabbath Day, they went out of the City to a river ſide, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, where there was taken to be a *Proſeucha*, or where was famed to be a *Proſeucha*; προσευχὴ ἐνομίζετο εἶναι, will beare both. The Syriack hath; *Quia ibi conſpiciebatur Domus orationis*; the Arabick, *Locus orationis*. For if προσευχὴ were taken here for *prayer*, as if the ſenſe were; where *prayer was uſed to be made*; it ſhould rather have been ſaid, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ γίνεσθαι, and not εἶναι· yet, if it were ſo taken, it would ſtill argue no leſſe, then that there was here an *appointed place* for prayer, and that out of the City, which is all one, as to ſay there was a *Proſeucha*: ſo I take προσευχὴ, in the 16. *verſe* of the ſame Chapter, where it is ſaid; It came to paſſe, πορευομένων ἡμῶν εἰς προσευχὴν, as we went to the *Proſeucha*, eſpecially ſince we read not in the Text, that S. *Paul* went thither to *pray*, but to *preach*, where he deemed there was an

an aſſembly that day according to cuſtome: *And we ſate down* (ſaith S. *Luke*) *and ſpake unto the women which were come together there.*

A ſecond place where a *Proſeucha* is mentioned in the New Teſtament, may be that *Luke* 6.12. where it is ſaid, that our Saviour *went out into a high Mountain to pray, and continued all night,* ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ, *in Proſeucha Dei,* ſo *Druſius* thinks προσευχὴ is here to be taken for a place, and the Article helps the ſenſe; otherwiſe it ſeems an odde and unaccuſtomed expreſſion for ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, to meane, in prayer unto God; and why ſhould it not be as likely, that our Saviour might ſometimes pray in their *Proſeucha's*, as teach in their Synagogues?

Thus we have ſeen the teſtimonies for *Proſeucha's*, their uſe, and difference from *Synagogues*. Now for *Synagogues*, the common opinion is that they were not before the Captivity of Babylon; and that neceſsity firſt taught the Jews the uſe of them in that Captivity, which afterward they brought with them at their return into their own Country. The reaſon why men ſo think, is, I ſuppoſe, the abſolute

abſolute ſilence of them in Scripture, untill the time of the ſecond Temple; but though the name were not, it is poſsible the thing might be: howſoever, becauſe it is moſt received, that they were not, we will let it paſſe for currant. But as for *Proſeucha's*, ſuch as we have deſcribed them, none, that I know, have affirmed or determined ought of their antiquity; it may be, not taken it into conſideration, either becauſe they had no occaſion to think of any ſuch matter, or becauſe they confounded them altogether with *Synagogues*.

The matter therefore being free and undecided, I will make bold to affirm, that if *Synagogues* were not, yet *Proſeucha's*, that is, open places for Prayers, were a long time before the Captivity, yea even from the dayes of *Ioſhuah* the ſon of *Nun*. And though the Jews had, or were to have but one Altar, or place of Sacrifice, that namely, which the Lord ſhould chooſe, to place the Ark of his Covenant there, the Tabernacle or Temple; yet had they other places for devotion, and religious uſe. And that this *Sanctuary of God* here mentioned

in

in my Text at *Sichem* (which was a Leviticall City) was ſuch a one; my reaſons are theſe; Firſt, becauſe it is incredible, that the Iſraelites having but one Temple for the whole Nation, whereat they were bound to appeare, and thoſe the males onely but thrice a year, ſhould have no other places of *prayer* nearer their dwellings whither they might reſort on Sabbath dayes, the Temple or Tabernacle being from ſome of them above an hundred miles diſtant at the leaſt. Secondly, becauſe (as I have already ſhewed) this *ſanctuary at Sichem* could not be the Tabernacle, which was then at Shiloh, not at Sichem, and yet muſt have ſome ſtable and fixed place, becauſe the ſituation of the *Oak* is deſigned by it: yea, muſt have been ſtill there, when this ſtory of *Ioſhuah* was written; which is thought to have been long after his death: ſurely this Chapter was written after it, where both his death and buriall are recorded: wherefore to ſay the Ark was brought thither upon this occaſion, will not ſerve turn. Thirdly, this place ſhould be a *Proſeucha*, becauſe of that circumſtance of trees growing in it; which, as

as it proves it not to have been the Tabernacle, (where no ſuch thing was lawfull to be) ſo ſeems it to be a Characteriſticall note of a *Proſeucha.*

For though it were not lawfull to have trees near the Altar of God, that is, in or about the Court of the Tabernacle; Yet was it not ſo with *Proſeucha's*, yea they ſeem to have been ordinarily garniſhed and beſet with them. This may be gathered from a paſſage of *Philo Iudæus*, where relating the barbarous outrage of the Gentiles at Alexandria, againſt the Jews, there dwelling in the time of *Caius*, τὴν Προσωχὴν, ſaith he, τὰς μὲν ἐδενδροτόμησαν, τὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις κατέσκαψαν, of ſome of the *Proſeucha's* they cut down the Trees, others they demoliſhed to the very Foundations.

The ſame is implied by that of *Iuvenal* ſpeaking of a Jewiſh Wizard or Fortune-teller, ——*conducta ſub arbore conjux.* And again in his ſixt Satyr,

Arcanam Iudæa tremens mendicat in aurem,
Interpres legum Solymarum, magna ſacerdos
Arboris, ac ſummi fida internuncia cœli.

Interpres legum Solymarum, of *Moſes* Laws, *Magna*

Magna Sacerdos Arboris, becauſe of the *Trees* in their *Proſeucha's*, or Places of worſhip. The ſame appears alſo out of thoſe verſes of his third Satyr, complaining that the once ſacred Grove of *Fons Capenus*, where *Numa* uſed to meet with the Goddeſſe *Ægeria*, was then let out to the beggarly Jews for a *Proſeucha*, and that every *Tree* (ſuch were the times) muſt pay rent to the people; by which means, the woods which formerly had been the habitation of the Muſes, were becom dens for beggerly Jews to mutter their Orizons in; hear his words:

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituiſſet amicæ,
Nunc ſacri Fontis nemus & delubra locantur
Iudæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque ſupellex,
Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere juſſa eſt
Arbor; & ejectis mendicat ſylva Camœnis.

Whence comes this connexion of *Iews* and *Trees*, but from their having trees in their *Proſeucha's?* unto which their ſituation without the Cities conduced; as alſo it did for privacy and retirement.

Vide Pſal. 52. *Sicut olea in Domo Dei.*

Thus you ſee how well the deſcription and mark of a *Proſeucha* agrees to this *Sanctuary* in my Text. And that the Jews had many other

ſuch in other places, as well as at *Sichem*, even in thoſe elder times, as at * *Miſpah*, *Bethel*, and *Gilgal*, I make little doubt; which we reade to have been places of Aſſembly for the people; & the two laſt ſanctified of old by Divine apparition, as *Sichem* was. Of *Miſpah* the Author of the firſt of *Maccabees*, in his third Chapter, if I underſtand him, teſtifieth as much; when he tels us, that whilſt the holy City lay deſolate, and the Sanctuary was trodden down by the tyranny of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Iudas Maccabæus*, and thoſe of the people which adhered unto their God, aſſembled together at *Maſpha* to make there their ſupplications unto their God, ὅτι τόπος προσευχῆς εἰς Μάσφα τὸ πρότερον τῷ Ισραὴλ, *becauſe at Maſpha or Miſpah had been a place of prayer in former time for Iſrael*; as much as to ſay, there had been a *Proſeucha* of old. And do we not read in that ſtory of the Benjamiticall warre in the Book of *Iudges*: That the Tabernacle being at *Shiloh*, (as appeares by the laſt Chapter) yet (in the Chapter going before) it is ſaid, that *the whole Congregation of Iſrael was gathered together as one man unto the Lord in Miſpah*, and that in

* Theſe three places are called by the LXX. 1 *Samuel* 6. 16. τοποὶ ἡγιασμένοι, though in the Originall there be no ſuch thing.

in the twenty ſixt verſe is mention made of *an houſe of God* there, where the people prayed and faſted; It is ſaid indeed that the Ark of the Covenant was upon that extraordinary occaſion brought thither, but it being certain, out of the next Chapter, that the Tabernacle was ſtill at Shiloh, this Houſe of God could be none of it: Nay perhaps, we may hence learn, that when the Ark upon occaſion of ſuch a generall, and extraordinary aſſembly was to be removed, they uſed to bring it to ſuch places as theſe, which were as holy Courts, ready prepared for it, and that then it was lawfull, but not elſe, to ſacrifice in them. Of theſe *Courts of prayer*, we may underſtand that alſo in the ſeventy fourth Pſalme; *They have caſt Fire into thy Sanctuary, they have burnt up all the* Conventicula Dei *in the Land*, namely, in the Captivity by *Nebuchadnezzar*, who deſtroyed both their *Temple*, and their *Proſeucha's*. For if we underſtand it of the perſecution of *Antiochus*, as ſome do, it muſt then follow, that ſome Canonicall Scripture was written after *Malachi*, and the ceaſing of Pro-

phecy, in the time of *Maccabees*; which will not eaſily be granted; Beſides that we read not, that *Antiochus* caſt any fire into the Temple. Now if it ſpeak of the vaſtation by *Nebuchadnezzar*, then had the Jews before that time, not onely a Sanctuary for ſacrifice, but alſo מועדי אל *Conventicula Dei*, that is, either *Proſeucha's*, or *Synagogues*, for either will ſerve my purpoſe.

But now you will ſay, what profit is there of this long diſcourſe? were it ſo, or were it not ſo, as I have endeavoured to prove, of what uſe is the knowledge thereof to us? yes, to know it was ſo, is uſefull in a threefold reſpect: Firſt, for the right underſtanding of ſuch places of the Old Teſtament, where a *Houſe of God*, and *aſſembling before the Lord* are often mentioned, there where neither the Ark of the Covenant, nor the Tabernacle at ſuch time were: as beſides the places before alledged, wee reade in the tenth of the firſt Book of *Samuel*, of *Sauls meeting with three men going up to God to Bethel*, and of a place called, *The Hill of God*, whence a company of Prophets came from the high place there

there, prophecying with a Tabret, Pipe, and Harp before them; in neither of which places can we finde that ever the Tabernacle was: and as for the Ark we are ſure it was all this time at *Kiriathjearim*, till *David* ſolemnely fetcht it thence: and if at any time the Ark might (as now it was not) be tranſferred to any of them upon occaſion of ſome generall Aſſembly of the Nation, that ſo they might have opportunity to ask counſell of the Lord, and offer Sacrifice, yet were they not the ordinary ſtation thereof.

Secondly, we may learn from hence, that to have appropriate places, ſet apart for *prayer* and *Divine duties*, is not a circumſtance or rite proper to legall worſhip onely, but of a more common nature: For as much as though Sacrifice, wherein the legall worſhip (or worſhip of the old Covenant) conſiſted, were reſtrained to the Ark and Tabernacle, and might not be exerciſed where they were not; yet were there other places for Prayer beſides that; which are no more to be accounted *legall places*,

then bare and ſimple *prayer* was a *legall Dutie.*

Laſtly, we may gather from this Deſcription of *Proſeucha's*, which were as Courts encompaſſed onely with a wall or other like encloſure, and open above; in what manner to conceive of the accommodation of thoſe *Altars*, we reade to have been erected by the Patriarchs, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob*, in the Book of *Geneſis*; namely, that the ground whereon they ſtood, was fenced and bounded with ſome ſuch encloſure, and ſhaded with trees, after the manner of *Proſeucha's*, as we may reade expreſly of one of them at Beerſheba: *That Abraham there planted a Grove, and called upon the Name of the Lord, the everlaſting God.* Yea, when the Tabernacle and Temple were, the *Altar* of God ſtood ſtill in an open Court, and who can beleeve that the places of thoſe *Altars* of the Patriarchs were not bounded and ſeparated from common ground? And from theſe patterns in likelihood after the Altar for Sacrifice was reſtrained to one one-

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ly place, the uſe of ſuch open places, or Courts for prayer, garniſhed with trees, as I have ſhewed *Proſeuchæ's* to have been, continued ſtill.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour: especially they that labour in the Word and Doctrine.

THere are two things in these words to be explicated; First, what is meant here by *Elders*: Secondly, what is meant by this *double honour* due unto them. For the first, there is no question but the Priests or Ministers of the Gospel of Christ were contained under this name: for so the New Testament useth the word Πρεσβύτερος, or *Presbyter*, for the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments in the Gospel; whence commeth the Saxon word *Priester*, and our now English word *Priest*. And the Ancient Fathers thought these onely to be here meant, and never dreamed of any others. But in our time these who obtrude

obtrude a new Diſcipline and Government upon the Church, altogether unknown and unheard of in the ancient, will needs have two ſorts of *Elders* or *Presbyters* here underſtood: one of ſuch as preach the Word and Doctrine, whom they call *Paſtours*; another of Lay-men, who were neither *Prieſts* nor *Deacons*, but joyned as aſsiſtants to them in the exerciſe of *Eccleſiaſticall Diſciplme* in admonitions and cenſures of manners, and in a word, in the execution of the whole *power* of the *Keyes*.

Theſe our Church-men call *Lay-Elders*, and the Authors of this new device, *Presbyteri*; theſe *Presbyters* or *Elders* they will have meant in the firſt words, οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες, *Elders that rule*, or govern *well*, whom therefore they call *Ruling-Elders*; the other whom they call *Paſtours*, to be deſcribed in the latter words; *they who labour in the Word and Doctrine*, whom therefore they diſtinguiſh by the name of *Teaching-Elders*.

This is their expoſition, and this expoſition the ground and foundation of their *new Diſciplme*; but none of the Fathers, which have com-

mented upon this Place, neither *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, *Ambroſe*, *Theodoret*, *Primaſius*, *Oecumenius*, or *Theophylact*, (as they had no ſuch, ſo) ever thought of any ſuch *Lay-Elders* to be here meant; but *Prieſts* onely, which adminiſtred the Word and Sacraments.

But how (will you ſay then) is this Place to be underſtood, which may ſeem, as they alledge, to intimate two ſorts of *Elders*, ſome that *ruled* onely, others that *laboured* alſo *in the Word and Doctrine*? The Divines of our Church, who had cauſe, when time was, to be better verſed in this queſtion, then any others, have given divers expoſitions of theſe words; none of which give place to any ſuch new-found *Elders*, as the *Fautours* of theſe *Presbyterian Diſcipline*, upon the ſole Authority of this one place, have ſet up in divers forrain Churches, and would have brought into ours. I will relate four of the chiefe expoſitions, to which the reſt are reducible.

The firſt is grounded upon the uſe of the participle in the Greek tongue, which is often wont to note the reaſon or condition of a thing, and accordingly to be reſolved by a cauſall,

cauſall, or conditionall conjunction. According whereunto this Text, οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, *duplici honore digni habeantur*, (or *dignentur*) μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ, is to be reſolved thus; *Elders* or *Presbyters that rule* or govern their Flocks *well*, let them be *accounted worthy of double honour*, and that chiefly *in reſpect*, and *becauſe of their labour in the Word and Doctrine*. And ſo this manner of ſpeech will imply two duties, but not two ſorts or orders of *Elders*, and that though this *double honour* be due unto them for both, yet chiefly and more principally for the ſecond, their *labour in the Word and Doctrine*: and this way goes S. *Chryſoſtome* and other Greek Writers.

A ſecond expoſition is taken from the force and ſignification of the word κοπιῶντες, which ſignifies not ſimply πονῶ, to labour, but to labour with much travell, and toyle; for κόπος is derived from κόπτομαι, *vexor*, *laboribus & moleſtiis premor*, and ſo properly ſignifies *moleſtiam*, or *fatigationem ex labore*. Thus the meaning will be; let *Elders* that doe *bene præſidere*, i. govern and inſtruct their Flock well, *be counted worthy of double honour*; eſpecially ſuch of them,

them, as take more then ordinary pains *in the Word and Doctrine*: Or thus; let the *Elders* that diſcharge their office well, *be*, &c. eſpecially by how much the more their painfulneſſe and travell ſhall exceed in preaching *the Word and Doctrine*, &c.

Thus we have ſeen two expoſitions of theſe words, neither of them implying two ſorts or Orders of *Presbyters*, but onely diſtinguiſhing ſeverall offices and duties of the ſame Order, or implying a differing merit in the diſcharge of them: But if they will by no means be perſwaded, but that two ſorts of *Elders* are here intimated, let it be ſo; two other expoſitions will yeeld them it; but ſo as will not be for their turn: for their *Lay-Elders* will be none of them.

The firſt is this, That the Apoſtle ſhould ſpeak here of *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, conſidering both as Members of the Eccleſiaſtical Cõſiſtory or Senate, which conſiſted of both Orders, and in that reſpect might well include them both under the name of *Elders*; it being a common notion in Scripture, to call the Aſſociats of a Court of Judicature by that name: *Senatus*

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in Latin hath its name *à ſenibus, i ſenioribus*, of Elderſhip; and is as much to ſay, as Πρεσβυτέριον. According to this ſuppoſall, the Apoſtles words may have this conſtruction: *Let the Elders which rule well*, whether *Prieſts* or *Deacons*, *be counted worthy of double honour*, but more *eſpecially* the *Prieſts* who beſides their government *labour* alſo *in the Word and Doctrine.* Now what can be oppoſed againſt ſuch an expoſition I ſee not. For it is not improbable, but the Apoſtle ſhould make proviſion, as well for the maintenance of *Deacons*, as of *Prieſts*, ſeeing he omits it not, of *Widows* in the verſe going next before this. But unleſſe he includes them under the name of *Elders*, he makes no proviſion for them at all. Beſides this is not the onely place (ſome think) where *Deacons* are comprehended under the name of *Elders*. For the Councell of *Hieruſalem*, *Acts* 15. where they inſcribe their Synodicall Epiſtle thus; *The Apoſtles, Elders, and Brethren to the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, &c.* may ſeem to comprehend the *Deacons* under the name of *Elders*, or *Presbyters*, otherwiſe they ſhould omit them, which, without doubt, were part of the Councell. There

There is another expoſition, which allows alſo of two ſorts of *Elders* to be here implied, but makes them both *Prieſts*; namely, that *Presbyters* or *Prieſts* in the Apoſtles time, were of two ſorts, one of Reſidentiaries, and ſuch as were affixed to certain Churches, and ſo did προϊστάναι, *præſidere Gregi.* Another of ſuch as had no fixed ſtation, or charge over any certain place, but travelled up and down to preach the Goſpel, where it was not, or to confirm the Churches where it was preached already; ſuch, as are elſewhere known by the names of *Euangeliſts* and *Doctors* or *Prophets*: that theſe were thoſe οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ, ſpoken of here by the Apoſtle; that both theſe ſorts of *Presbyters* were to be *counted worthy of double honour*, as well οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες, as thoſe that *travelled* up and down to preach the Goſpel, οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ, but eſpecially theſe latter, becauſe their pains were more then the others. This is confirmed from the uſe of the word κοπιᾶν, which in Scripture ſignifies not onely corporall labour, as may appeare in many places; but ſeems to be uſed by S. *Paul* even in this very ſenſe we have now given,

given, as 1 *Cor.*15. where he ſayes, comparing himſelf with the other Apoſtles, περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα, I have *travelled* up and down more then they all, as is manifeſt he did.

Theſe are the principall expoſitions given by the Writers of our Church, upon this paſſage of Scripture, which is the foundation and *onely place* whereon they build this *new Conſiſtory*, and are ſo much in love with it. But this being capable, as you ſee, of ſuch variety of expoſition; how much too weak and inſufficient it is to eſtabliſh any ſuch new order of *Elders* never heard of in the Church from the time of the *Apoſtles* untill this laſt age, any man may judge.

But give me leave to propound a fifth expoſition, which ſhall be more liberall to them, then any of thoſe yet given. For it ſhall yeeld them all they contend for ſo eagerly to be implied in this Text, namely, that there are not onely two ſorts of *Elders* here implied; but alſo that the one of them are *Lay-Elders*, ſuch as have nothing to do with the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments; what

would they have more? yet they will be never the nearer for this conceſsion; for the *Lay-Elders* here implied, may be no *Church Officers*, but *Civill Magiſtrates*, which in Scripture language we know are called *Elders*: as when we reade of the *Elders of Iſrael*, of the *Elders of Iudah*, of the *Elders of the Prieſts*, and *Elders of the people*, of *Prieſts and Elders*, and the like; according to ſuch a notion the words may be conſtrued by way of *Tranſitus à theſi ad hypotheſin*, as Rhetoricians call it, to wit, in this manner; *Cum omnes Seniores, qui bene præſident, etiam Reipub. Civiles magiſtratus duplici honore dignandi ſint, tum maxime Seniores Eccleſiaſtici, qui laborant in verbo & Doctrinâ*: Or thus, Let all *Elders* that govern well, of what ſort ſoever, *be counted worthy of double honour, eſpecially the Elders of the Church which labour in the Word and Doctrine*; is not this good ſenſe? and doth not the Apoſtle in the beginning of this very Chapter, uſe the name Elder, in the larger and more generall ſenſe, when he ſayes, *Rebuke not an Elder, but exhort him as a Father, & the younger men, as Brethren, the Elder women, as Mothers,*

thers, the younger as ſiſters? why may he not then do ſo here? And doth not S. *Iames* in his laſt Chapter call the Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments, Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, as it were in diſtinction from Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πολιτείας. But it will be objected that this expoſition is too ambitious, becauſe it makes the Apoſtle to preferre the *Elders of the Church*, before the *Elders of the Common-wealth*, that is, the *Prieſt* before the *Civill Magiſtrate*, when he ſayes that all *Elders*, whether of *Church*, or *Common-wealth*, *are to be accounted worthy of double honour*, ſo *eſpecially thoſe Elders which labour in the Word and Doctrine*, which are the *Presbyters* of the *Church*.

But here know that the name of *Elder*, is never given in Scripture to the *Supreame Magiſtrate*, but to the *ſubordinate* onely; and why the *Miniſters of the Word and Doctrine* ſhould not be *accounted as worthy of double honour*, as they, or more worthy, I know not; eſpecially if S. *Paul* here ſayes it; ſure I am, this objection is not ſufficient to refute my interpretation.

Thus I thought good to acquaint you how many wayes this place may be expounded, without importing any ſuch new *Elders*, (nei-

ther *Prieſts* nor *Deacons*) as they would impoſe upon us, for *Church Officers* by the ſole authority thereof; for though this *Diſciplinarian* controverſie of our Church ſtirred up by the admirers of the *Genevian platform* were in the heat before our time, yet the ſect is not yet dead, but ready upon every occaſion to ſurpriſe ſuch, as they finde unarmed or not forewarned.

And thus having informed our ſelves who they are, which are here termed Elders, we will now ſee alſo, what is that *honour* which is due unto them, which was the ſecond thing I propounded, διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιόσθωσαν, *let them be accounted* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *worthy of*, or deign'd *double honour*. That by *honour* here, is meant *honorarium ſtipendium*, or a tribute of maintenance, is manifeſt by the following words, which the Apoſtle brings to inforce it. *For the Scripture ſaith, Thou ſhalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth out the corn*; and, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*: Who ſees not what theſe prooſes inferre? The firſt of them he alledges alſo in the ſame argument, 1 *Cor.* 9. where he addes, *Doth God take care for Oxen?*

or

or *ſaith he it altogether for our ſakes?* (ours namely, that preach the Goſpel) *For our ſakes no doubt this is written, that he which plougheth ſhould plough in hope, and he that threſheth in hope, ſhould be partaker of his hope.* The caſe is plain; It is an Hebrew notion, to bring honour, that is, to pay tribute, or bring a preſent, as *Apoc.* 21. 26. φέρουσι τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰς αὐτὴν· to wit, the new Jeruſalem. And thus much of the word *Honour*.

But what is meant by double honour? Some (as among the Fathers, S. *Ambroſe*) will have this *double honour*, to be *honour of maintenance*, and *honour of reverence*. But becauſe the Apoſtles proofes here inferre onely *maintenance*; I take it to be meant in this place only of it. And as for *double*, I take it to be an alluſion to the right of the *firſt-born*, to whom at firſt the office of *Prieſthood* belonged in their Families, and into whoſe roome the *Levites* were taken, and whom the *Presbyters of the Goſpel* now ſucceed. As therefore they had a *double* portion among their Brethren, in like manner ſhould the *Presbyters of the Goſpel* be counted worthy of *double honour*.

And if you will admit of that conſtruction of theſe words, which I gave in the fift place, namely, to comprehend as well the *Elders of the Common-wealth*, as the *Elders of the Church*, (that both were to bee accounted worthy of double honour, but eſpecially thoſe of the Church, who labour in the Word and Doctrine) it will agree yet farre better; becauſe both the one and the other ſucceed in the place of the *Firſt-born*; to whom belonged both to be *Prieſts* and *Civill Governours* in their Tribes and Families.

Yet howſoever the ancient Chriſtians were wont in their Agapes, or Love-Feaſts, to give their *Presbyters* a *double* portion, κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν, with ſome reference to this Text, as appeares by *Tertullian*; nevertheleſſe, I think *double honour* is not here to bee ſo preciſely taken, but onely to note a *liberall and ingenuous maintenance*, ſuch as might ſet them above the vulgar, as the *Firſt-borne* by their *double* portion were preferred above the reſt of their Brethren.

But

But I have not yet done with the word τιμὴ, for from this that the Apoſtle here ſtyleth the *Prieſts* maintenance, *honour*; It followeth, that the *Prieſts* maintenance is not to be eſteemed of the nature of *Almes*, as ſome would have it, but is a *Tribute* of *honour*, ſuch as is given by an inferiour to his ſuperiour. For *Almes* and *honour*, *Nec bene conveniunt, nec in unâ ſede morantur*, the one reſpecting thoſe to whom it is given, as *miſerable*, the other, as *honourable*. I meane if *almes* be taken, as we uſe the word, for a work of mercy. From the ſame ground alſo, it follows that the *Prieſts maintenance* is no ordinary mercenary wages, but ſuch as is given by way of *honour*, as well as of *reward*. For ſuch as is given to ordinary workmen is reward and wages onely, and not a Teſtimony or Tribute of *honour*: But that which is due to the *Prieſt*, as you ſee, is τιμὴ, namely, of the ſame nature with that which is given to *Princes* and *Magiſtrates*, by thoſe which are under them. As the *Miniſters* of the Goſpel are in the nature of *Presbyters*, and *Elders*, unto the people over whom they are ſet; ſo is

their maintenance from them, ſuch as is ſuitable to the condition and Dignity of an Elder; not a common wages, which the ſuperiour often gives to his inferiour, or ſervant, but *honorarium*, or τιμή.

ACTS 2. 5.

And there were [κατοικοῦντες] *ſojourning at Ieruſalem Iews, devout men, out of every Nation under heaven.*

AT the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, when that wonder hapned of the holy Ghoſts deſcent upon the Apoſtles in the likeneſſe of Fiery tongues, there were preſent at Jeruſalem (as the ſtory a little after my Text informs us) men of ſeverall Nations, as *Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Meſopotamia, Iudæa, and Cappodocia, Pontus, and Aſia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, Ægypt, and the parts of Lybia about Cyrene, and ſtrangers of Rome,* (or ſtranger Romans) *both Iews and Proſelytes, Cretes, and Arabians*; all theſe, upon the noyſe of this new accident came together unto the Place, and were confounded, hearing every

man ſpeaking in his own language, wherein he was born.

Many, when they reade this ſtory, ſuppoſe the people here mentioned, the moſt of them to have been *Gentiles*, and ſome Expoſitors cannot be excuſed from this miſtake. For the more cleare diſcerning whereof, and their better information, who may perhaps be overtaken with the ſame errour; I have made choyce of the words before read, for the argument of my preſent diſcourſe; which tels us in expreſſe termes, that theſe *Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, theſe Meſopotamians, Cappadocians*, and the reſt after mentioned under thoſe Nationall names, were *Iſraelites*, or *Iews* of the diſperſion; *Iews* born in *Parthia*, and *Media*, *Iews* of *Elam*, or *Perſia*, *Meſopotamian Iews*, and ſo the reſt of the Countries there named; all of them of the Circumciſion; for ſo ſaith my Text, beginning to ſpeak of them: *There were ſojourning, or* (if you will) *dwelling at Ieruſalem, Iews of every Nation under heaven*; that is, of every Nation where the *Iews* were diſperſed.

This

This is yet further confirmed by Saint *Peters* ſpeech unto them; as when having cited the words of the Prophet *Ioel*, verſe the 22. hee ſaith unto them, *Yee men of Iſrael heare theſe words; Ieſus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you, &c. Him being delivered by the determinate counſell, and fore-knowledge of God, yee have taken, and by wicked hands crucified and ſlaine: Men of Iſrael*, and ſuch as had *ſlaine their Meſſias*; ſurely thoſe were no *Gentiles*.

Likewiſe when at the hearing of this, they were pricked in their hearts, he ſaith unto them; *Repent and be Baptized every one of you in the Name of Ieſus Chriſt, for the remiſſion of ſinnes. For the Promiſe is made unto you, and your Children, and to all that are afarre off, even as many as the Lord ſhall call.* The Promiſe, ſaith he, is made unto you and your children; were theſe then any others then *Iews* or *Iſraelites*, of the ſeed of *Abraham*?

Laſtly, we finde that of theſe *Parthians, Medes, and Elamites*, and of the reſt named with

with them, there were added unto the Church by this Sermon of S. *Peter* three thouſand ſoules; But it is certain that *Cornelius* the Centurion was the firſt *Gentile* that was converted unto the Faith; Therefore theſe firſt Converts were no *Gentiles*. Perhaps you will ſay, they were *Proſelytes* of theſe ſeverall Nations, and therefore called *Iews*. I ſay, not ſo neither; becauſe *Proſelytes* are by name rehearſed among them, when it is ſaid of thoſe *Romanæ advenæ*, (verſe the tenth) that they were *Iews and Proſelytes*; *Ergo*, the reſt were *Iews* by race, and not by Religion onely. But what need I to have heaped together all theſe proofes, when my Text alone is ſufficient to evince it?

I come now therefore to a more particular illuſtration thereof, according to what I have thus in generall premiſed. And firſt, for the word κατοικοῦντες, which I tranſlate *ſojourning*, rather then *dwelling*; (for ſo I underſtand it, that they were not proper dwellers, but ſuch as came to worſhip at Jeruſalem from thoſe farCountries at the Feaſt of the Paſſeover, and Pentecoſt; and ſo had been continuing there ſome good time) It is true that in the uſuall

Greek

Greek οἰκέω & κατοικέω, ſignifie a durable manſion; But with the *Helleniſts*, in whoſe Dialect the Scripture ſpeaketh, they are uſed indifferently for a ſtay of a ſhorter, or longer time; that is, for *to ſojourn* as well, as *to dwell*; as theſe two examples out of the Septuagint will make manifeſt: *Geneſis* 27.44. where *Rebecca* ſayes to her younger ſon *Iacob*, *Son ariſe, and flee unto Laban thy brother to Haran,* καὶ οἴκησον μετ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας τινὰς, *and tarry with him a few dayes, untill thy brothers fury turn away*; οἰκεῖν is here to tarry but a few dayes. Another is in the firſt Book of *Kings*, 17.20. where *Eliah* cries unto the Lord, ſaying, *O Lord my God, haſt thou alſo brought evill upon the widow,* μεθ' ἧς ἐγὼ παροικῶ μετ' αὐτῆς, *with whom I ſojourn, by ſlaying her ſon?* here παροικῶν is to ſojourn onely: In a word, οἰκέω, and παροικέω anſwer to the Hebrew verb שכן, which ſignifies any ſtay, or remaining in a place.

Next for the perſons here ſpecified, *Iews out of every Nation under heaven*; we are to know that before the laſt diſperſion of the *Iews* by the Romans, after their Temple and City were deſtroyed by *Titus* (which at the time of this ſtory was not, nor many years after it) there

there had been already two Captivities, and great diſperſions of that Nation, beſides ſome ſmaller ſcatterings: The *firſt* was of the ten Tribes, by *Salmanaſſar* King of Aſſyria, who is ſaid to have planted them *in Hala, and Habor, by the river of Gozen, and in the Cities of the Medes*, and theſe never (I mean any conſiderable part of them) returned to dwell again in their own Country; of theſe therefore we are (chiefly) to underſtand, to have been thoſe which the ſtory here cals *Parthians, Medes, and Elamites*; Elamites, that is, Perſians, of the Province of Elymais. For in thoſe Countries which theſe names comprehend, were the ten Tribes placed by the Aſſyrian, and there ſtill dwelt, and thereabouts, in our Saviour, and his Apoſtles time, and long after. *S. Hierome* upon theſe words in the third of *Ioel*, *Et Filios Iuda & Filios Ieruſalem vendidiſtis Filiis Græcorum*, (which he underſtands of the Captivity by *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*) tels us thus much; *Filii*, (ſaith he) *Iuda & Ieruſalem, nequaquam Iſrael & decem Tribuum, qui uſque hodie in Medorum urbibus & montibus habitant.* The *ſecond* Captivity was by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of Babylon, of the two Tribes

Tribes, Judah and Benjamin, more then a hundred years after that of the ten; Now a good part of theſe at ſeventy years end returned again, under *Cyrus*, and his ſucceſſors, to dwell again in their own land, re-edified the Temple, and City of Jeruſalem, re-erected their Common-wealth, which continued till our Saviours time and a little after. Notwithſtanding all thoſe that were Captives in Babylon returned not: it may be not much more then the halfe of them; certain it is, that a great number of them ſtayed there ſtill, thoſe eſpecially which were rich, and well accommodated, having no minde to ſtirre; whence in our Saviours, and the Apoſtles times, there were an innumerable company of them in thoſe parts, where they flouriſhed with Academies, and Schooles, and had Doctours not inferiour to thoſe of Jeruſalem it ſelfe. Yea, from them proceeded the *Chaldee Paraphraſe*; and that great Doctour and Patriarch of Rabbies, *R. Hillel*; of theſe therefore, we have reaſon to think, were thoſe which are here enumerated by

by the name of *dwellers in Meſopotamia*, οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, where note by the way, that οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, are comprehended in the number of thoſe, whom my Text ſaith were κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, which confirms my interpretation, that κατοικοῦντες there ſignifies *ſojourning*, and not *dwelling*, for that they could not be ſaid to dwell in both places.

Theſe two diſperſions how numerous they were, beyond Euphrates in the Apoſtles times, we may gather from thoſe words of King *Agrippa*, in *Ioſephus*, in that Oration he made unto the Jews before that fatall ſiege, diſſwading them from rebelling againſt the Romans, their party being too much too weak to maintain themſelves againſt that mighty Empire. *Quos igitur* (ſaith he) *ex orbe non habitato ſocios in Bellum aſſumatis? Siquidem omnes, qui in orbe habitabili degunt, Romani ſunt: Niſi fortè quis veſtrum ſpes ſuas ultra Euphratem porrigat, & in Adiabenorum Regione Gentiles ſuos æſtimet adjuturos;* (*Adiabenorum Regio*, is that of *Aſſyria*; he goes on) *Verum nec illi propter irrationabilem cauſam tanto ſe Bello implicabunt: nec,*

ſi

ſi tam probroſo operi aſſenſum darent, Parthus tamen ſineret. Mark then, that they were under the dominion of the *Parthians*. *Ioſephus* himſelfe teſtifieth as much in his Prologue to his Tract *de Bello Iudaico*; where he informs us, that that Hiſtory of his, he had firſt penned *patria lingua*, for the uſe of thoſe of his Nation in the Eaſt; which he thought ſoon after to publiſh in Greek, for the better information of the Greeks and Romans concerning the true geſts of that warre. *Indignum eſſe ratus* (ſaith he) *Parthos quidem & Babylonios, Arabumque remotiſsimos, & ultra Euphratem Gentis noſtræ incolas, itemque Adiabenos meâ diligentiâ verè cognoſcere unde cœpiſſet Bellum, quantiſque cladibus conſtitiſſet, quove modo deſiiſſet: Græcos vero, & Romanorum aliquos, qui militiam ſecuti non eſſent, figmentis ſeu adulationibus captos iſta neſcire*: Obſerve here the rehearſall of his Nation; *Babylonii, Parthi, Arabes, Tranſeuphrateni* or *Meſopotamienſes, and Adiabeni*: Beſides he tels us in the ſame place, *Quod Iudæi quidem cunctos, etiam qui trans Euphratem eſſent, Gentiles ſuos ſecum rebellaturos eſſe crediderant.*

Beſides theſe two captivities by *Salmanaſſar*, and

and *Nebuchadnezzar*; the firſt whereof never returned into their own land, and the ſecond but in part; there happened a *third* Captivity and diſperſion in the dayes of *Ptolomeus Lagi*, one of the Greek Kings, raigning in Ægypt, who ſurpriſing the City of Jeruſalem, carried many of the People of the Country, of the off-ſpring of thoſe who returned from Babylon, Captives into Egypt, planting them at Alexandria, and the places thereabouts, whom many others followed of their own accord, partly allured by the Kings favour, and partly by the fertility of the Country: ſo that this Colony became a very great one. Theſe were called *Helleniſts*, becauſe they ſpake the Greek tongue, and uſed the Tranſlation of the Septuagint (which was made in Ægypt) in their Synagogues. Of theſe three principall diſperſions, came thoſe leſſer ſcatterings in all parts of the Roman Empire, and elſewhere. From that of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, was ſpread that of *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Aſia*, *Bythinia*, to which S. *Peter* as an Apoſtle of the Circumciſion writes his two Epiſtles; which may be gathered, becauſe in his ſecond Epiſtle,

stle, he salutes them from *Babylon*, which was their *Metropolis*. *The Church*, saith he, *at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you*; that is, the Church of the Circumcision there. From those of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, were derived those plantations in *Lybia*, and *Cyrene*, and all other *Hellenists* whatsoever in severall parts of the Roman Empire. Adde to these, that many of Judæa it selfe, that could not live well at home, upon some occasion or other, either alluring them or constraining them, seated themselves abroad among the Gentiles, and in their Cities, being together with themselves under the same Dominion of the Romane Empire. Insomuch that King *Agrippa*, in that fore-mentioned oration of his, before that last siege, disswading them of Judæa from rebelling against the Romans, in regard of the evill they might bring thereby, not upon themselves onely, but upon their whole Nation wheresoever living among the Gentiles, sticks not to say, Ου γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος, ὁ μὴ ἡμετέραν μοῖραν ἔχων· *For there is no people in the whole world, which hath not some part of ours dwelling amongst them*; marvell not therefore, that

S. *Luke* ſayes in my Text, *Iews of every Nation under heaven.*

All this is confirmed out of the New Teſtament it ſelf; foraſmuch as before the laſt Captivity by *Titus*, which was not till almoſt forty years after our Saviours Aſcenſion, and whilſt their Common-wealth in the holy Land, was yet ſtanding, we read that almoſt in every City of the *Gentiles*, whither the Apoſtles came to preach the Goſpel, they found *Iews* with their Synagogues in them: To which adde that S. *Iames* directs his Epiſtle, *To the twelve Tribes ſcattered abroad*, or as the Greek hath it, τοῖς δώδεκα φύλαις τοῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, as I have alſo before noted, that S. *Peter* doth his unto the diſperſion of *Aſia*. This is that I had to ſpeak for the illuſtration of this Story, and Text, out of which beſides the right underſtanding of Scripture, whereto it conduceth, you may obſerve theſe four things: Firſt, the wiſdom & providence of Almighty God, in ſo ordering the firſt publication of the Goſpel, that the fame thereof, and of that convincing miracle, which gave authority thereunto, might be carried unto *all Nations*, by ſo many both eare and eye witneſſes

neſſes of the ſame as thoſe Jews were.

Secondly, a probable reaſon why the *Apoſtles* were ſo ignorant at the firſt, as they ſeem to have been, that the Goſpel was to be preached unto the *Gentiles*, notwithſtanding our Saviors Commiſſion unto them; *Go preach this Goſpel unto all Nations.* For it may be, they thought this command might be ſatisfied, in preaching the Goſpel to thoſe of the Circumciſion onely, which were *of every Nation under heaven.*

Thirdly, the *Elogium* here given to thoſe who made conſcience (as we ſpeak) or Religion, to come unto the Houſe of God to worſhip; they were ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, ſo ſaith my text, *There were ſojourning in Ieruſalem, Iews, devout men, &c.* For there appears no other reſpect why they are ſo called but becauſe they came ſo long a journy to worſhip God in his Houſe or Temple at *Ieruſalem.*

Fourthly, the bleſſed opportunities & means for ſalvation which they meet with, which come thither to worſhip. For had thoſe *Iews* ſtaid at home, as the reſt of their brethren did, they had not bin partakers of ſuch a bleſsing; nor witneſſes of ſo wonderfull a miracle for confirmation of their faith, as now they were.

1 Cor. 9. 14.

Even ſo hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel; ἐκ τοῦ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ ζῆν.

MY purpoſe, in chooſing this Text, is not to make the maintenance of the Miniſtery under the Goſpel, the direct aime of my diſcourſe; but only to enquire what is meant by theſe laſt words, ἐκ τοῦ Εναγγελίου ζῆν. Which that we may the more readily and certainly finde, let us examine, and conſider the παράταξις, whereof the words I have now reade, are the ὑποθέσις, *Know ye not*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *that* [οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι] *thoſe that miniſter about holy things*, [ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσι] *doe eate of the holy thing*, or, as we turn it, *of the things of the Temple*: [καὶ οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύοντες] *they which wait at the*

the Altar, [τῷ Θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζονται] *are fellow-ſharers with the Altar?* [Ουτω] *So hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Goſpel ſhould* ἐκ τ̃ Ευαγγελίȣ ζῆν. Here, οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι, *thoſe who were imployed about holy things*, are the Levites who lived ἐκ τ̃ ἱερ̃, of the holy thing, or (if you had rather it ſhould be a ſubſtantive) *of the Temple.* Firſt, of that which belonged thereto; namely, of the Tithes which belonged to the Temple, but were no offering of the Altar: Οἱ τῷ Θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύοντες, they who did *incumbere*, or *aſsidere altari*, were the Prieſts, whoſe proper office it was to offer ſacrifices thereon, and had part of the ſame for their proper maintenance; as the breaſt and left ſhoulder before it was burnt, and after, ſo much as was reſerved from burning, ſo they did τῷ Θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζεσθαι, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *they were fellow-ſharers with the Altar*; the Altar having one part of the Offering, they another.

Thus you ſee, the Apoſtle in both ſutes the maintenance with the office: The office of the Levites was τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, their maintenance,

tenance, τὸ ἱερὸν, *the holy thing*, or the revenue of the Temple; ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσι, *they eat of the* ἱερὸν. The Office of the Prieſts τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρεύειν; their maintenance, τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζεσθαι, *to ſhare with the Altar.* Now then muſt not the Apodoſis anſwer the Protaſis? what manner of ſimilitude, what analogy will there be elſe? *Ergo*, as καταγγέλλειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον is the office of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, ſo is their maintenance noted by ἐκ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ζῆν. Thoſe therefore who interpret theſe words, as if Εὐαγγέλιον in the laſt place were taken in no other ſenſe, then it was in the firſt; namely, to note the function, or calling of the Miniſters; (as if the ſenſe were no other, but that the Miniſters of the Goſpel, whoſe calling it is to preach the Goſpel, ſhould get their living by their Calling, of preaching the Goſpel) make S. *Paul* the Author of a lame and inconſequent ſimilitude, whoſe Apodoſis anſwers not unto his Protaſis. For what a οὕτω, what an *even ſo*, or analogy would this be? The Levites lived of the holy portion, or revenue of the Temple, as their ὀψώνιον, or wages; Even ſo the Miniſters of the Goſpel muſt live by their

their Calling and Function: The Prieſts were maintained out of the ſhare they had of the Offerings of the Altar; Even juſt ſo, the Miniſters of the Goſpel muſt live by their Calling and Function of Preaching the Goſpel. May not any one ſee that the Apodoſis anſwers not the Protaſis? For that ſpeaks of the wages, this of the ſervice, for which the wages is due: Well therefore as in the Protaſis, the wages was compared with the work; ſo muſt it be in the Apodoſis too; and conſequently ἐκ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, muſt here expreſſe the wages, as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλειν, doth the work.

But now here is the *quære*; If ἐκ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ζῆν, note not the function, but the wages, and maintenance due to the Euangelick Miniſters, in what notion then is Εὐαγγέλιον here to be taken, and how to be expounded? *Oecumenius* would have Εὐαγγέλιον, in this laſt place to ſignifie οἱ τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ πεπιστευκότες, the beleevers of the Goſpel; [Εὐαγγελισθέντες] and the meaning to be, that thoſe *who preach the Goſpel*, ſhould be maintained by thoſe *which beleeve the Goſpel*: But this would make our Apodoſis to anſwer the Protaſis, little better

then the former: For that speaks of the maintenance, and wages of the Levites, and Priests, not a word of the maintainers. * Besides, to speak properly, it is not true, that the people maintain the Ministers: They are not their Ministers, but Gods; and he maintains them, out of his own revenue, and not at other mens charges. *Quis militat suis stipendiis?* (saith our Apostle, at his entrance upon this Argument) Who goeth to warre at his own charges? Now I ask; *Cujus stipendiis militat, qui militat? nonne Imperatoris?* To which purpose note also by the way, that it is not said here (as we translate it) *So hath God ordained, that those which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel:* But, *So hath God appointed,* or *given order to those which preach the Gospel, that they should live of the Gospel;* that is, *Non dicit Dominum mandasse aliis, ut eos alerent, sed mandâsse ipsis, ut ex Euangelio viverent.* But to return again to the interpretation of Ευαγγέλιον, which others therefore had rather take here for τὰ τοῦ Ευαγγελίου, that which in the Gospel is consecrate to God; to wit, as the Priests, and

* Philo de Sacer. dotũ honoribus. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μηδένα τῶν διδόντων ὀνειδίζειν τοῖς λαμβάνουσι κελεύει τοὺς ἀπαρχὴς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζεσθαι πρότερον, εἶτ' ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἱερεῖς λαμβάνειν· ἥρμοττε γὰρ θεῷ τοὺς μὲν εὐεργετημένους ἐν ἅπασι, &c.

and Levites had their maintenance out of that, which was offered unto God in the Law: So God had ordained, that the Miniſters of the Goſpel ſhould be maintained of that, which is conſecrate to him in the Goſpel. And this ſenſe is ſtreight and good.

Ioſ. 18.7. The Prieſthood of the Lord is their [the Levites] inheritance

But what need we flie to a Trope when the naturall ſenſe of the word Εὐαγγέλιον will ſerve our turn; yea doe it much better? For howſoever in the New Teſtament it moſt commonly ſignifies *good tidings*: yet, in other Greek Writers, the more uſuall ſignification in the ſingular number is δῶρον ὑπὲρ ἀγαθῆς ἀγγελίας, *præmium, quod datur lætum afferenti nuncium*; the gift, or reward wont to bee given for good tidings. *Homer* (*Odyſſ.* 14.) brings in *Vlyſſes* in a poore travellers diſguiſe, ſtipulating with his ſervant *Eumæus*, what his reward ſhould bee, for the good news hee promiſed to tell him of his Maſters life, and ſpeedy returne, Εὐαγγέλιον δέ μοι ἔσσο: let this bee my Reward, ſaith hee, χλαῖνα, χίτων, ἠ εἵματα καλά· To whom

whom *Eumæus* anſwers, Ω γέρον, οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐγὼν εὐαγγέλιον τόδε τίσω, Οὔτ' Ὀδυσεὺς ἔτι οἶκον ἐλεύσεται· Neither am I able to give ſuch an εὐαγγέλιον, neither will *Vlyſſes* ever come home again. *Plutarch* (in his *De gloria Athenienſium*) relates, that the Lacedemonians to one that brought them tidings of the victory at Mantinea, having been no actor, but a ſpectator onely, ſent for an εὐαγγέλιον, onely a diſh of meat from one of their common ſuppers, called *Phiditia*. The words are εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ Φειδιτίου κρέας ἀπέπεμψαν. The ſame Author (within three or foure lines after) affirms, that Hiſtorians, who relate and deſcribe battels and victories in ſuch perſpicuous ſtyles, deſerve an εὐαγγέλιον, from thoſe who firſt read them: And (in his *Demetrius*) he tels, that when one *Ariſtodemus* brought news to King *Antigonus*, of a notable victory his party had obtained againſt *Ptolomæus Lagi*, but puts the King firſt in great perplexity, by diſcovering nothing, either by word or countenance, what his tidings were, till he came to the Kings preſence, then ſaying, *Salve Rex Antigone, vicimus prælio navali Regem Ptolomæum*: The King anſwered, *Et tu*

tu quoque hercle salve; quia vero ita nos torsisti, lues pœnam, nam tardius εὐαγγέλιον *accipies*; which is a sufficient testimony both of the use of the word, and the custome. *Cicero* (in one of his Epistles, *Ad Atticum*) useth the plurall number: *O suaves tuas Epistolas* (saith he) *uno tempore mihi datas duas. Quibus* εὐαγγέλια *quæ reddam, nescio; deberi quidem plane fateor.*

Besides, in the plurall number, εὐαγγέλια, signifies a sacrifice for good tidings; Hence *Plutarch* (in his *Phocio*) hath εὐαγγέλια θύειν· *Isocrates* (in *Areopagitico*) ἐπὶ τοσαύταις πράξεσιν εὐαγγέλια μὲν δὶς ἤδη τεθύκαμεν, *ob tot successus bis quidem sacrificavimus* εὐαγγέλια· *Xenophon* (in his *Hellanica*) ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια. To conclude; it is apparent by these examples, that εὐαγγέλιον signifies a gift, or tribute due for good tidings; whether as an offering to the Gods, the Authors; or as a reward to men, the messengers and bringers.

Now the most blessed and *happy tidings* that ever came to the ears of the sonnes of men, is salvation by Jesus Christ our Lord; whereof his Priests and Ministers are the daily messengers: Is there not then an εὐαγγέλιον due for this?

this? And is not this that our Apoſtle meaneth when he ſayes; *The Lord hath ordained that they who preach the Goſpel ſhould* ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν; So that, which of old was required onely for acknowledgement of the Divine Dominion, under the bondage of the Law, is now turned into the nature of an εὐαγγέλιον in the liberty of the Goſpel; I meane that which we offer now unto God for the maintenance of the Euangelicall Miniſtry, and other uſes of his ſervice: The ſenſe is moſt fit, and agreeable; and makes the Apoſtles expreſsion (if ſo underſtood) paſsing elegant.

But you will ſay; What probability is there the Apoſtle ſhould uſe an εὐαγγέλιον in this notion? For though prophane Authors doe ſo, yet the Scriptures meaning, both here and elſwhere, is to be meaſured by its own Dialect. Have therefore the Hebrew, the Chaldee, the Septuagint any ſuch notion as this? I anſwer, Yes; all three of them. For in the Hebrew, בשרה the onely word for *good tidings*, ſignifies alſo *Præmium boni nuncii*; Yea, being not above five times found in the Old Teſtament, ſome will have it thrice

thrice taken in that ſignification, and twice will be eaſily yeelded them. Likewiſe in the Chaldee, בשורא, and בסורתא, ſignifie as well the one as the other; both *nuncium*, and *nuncii præmium*. As for the Seventy, the word εὐαγγέλιον is but thrice found with them, and once ſo apparently in this ſignification, as leaves no place for contradiction. It is 2 *Sam.* 4. 10. where they have, ᾧ ἔδει με δοῦναι εὐαγγέλιον, *Cui oportuit me dediſſe Euangelia.* They are the words of King *David*, when *Rechab* and *Baanah* brought *Iſhboſheths* head unto him; *When one told me*, ſaith he, *Behold Saul is dead*, (*thinking hee had brought good tidings*) *I took hold of him, and ſlew him in Ziklag, when I ſhould have given a reward for his tidings.* The Hebrew word rendred here reward for good tidings, is בשרה: The Seventy, as I ſaid before, have δοῦναι εὐαγγέλια. The Vulgar, or S. *Hierome*, *mercedem pro nuncio*: The Chaldee Paraphraſt, *Donum boni nuncii.*

Thus you ſee, this notion was familiar to all the Languages that S. *Paul* was brought up in. Why ſhould it then be improbable, he

he ſhould uſe it when he had occaſion? And no marvell, it is to be found no oftner; For, unleſſe it be in this Chapter, in the whole New Teſtament, the thing it ſelfe (*reward for good tidings*) is never mentioned, intimated, or alluded to.

How then could the word be uſed? But in this Chapter, me thinks, I heare it uſed a ſecond time, *ver.*23. I will onely propound it to your conſiderations, and conclude.

The matter ſtands thus, S. *Paul*, though he received no reward of the Corinthians for his pains in making known the glad tidings of ſalvation unto them, but did it *gratis* to themward: yet he looked for an εὐαγγέλιον from God, ſtored up in the heavens, for all his faithfull Meſſengers, and to be received at the great Day: In expectation whereof, he not onely preached the Goſpel to them freely, but endured all things, and made himſelfe a ſervant to all: τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶ (ſaith he) διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα συγκοινωνὸς αὐτοῦ γένωμαι, *this I doe for the* εὐαγγέλιον, *that I might be partaker thereof.* What εὐαγγέλιον ſhould it be, that *Paul* here aimed to be partaker of? Surely, it ſhould ſeem

ſeem it here notes ſome *Præmium*, even by that which immediately follows; *Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the* brabæum; *So run that ye may obtain.* I leave it to your better meditations, and ſo conclude.

FINIS.